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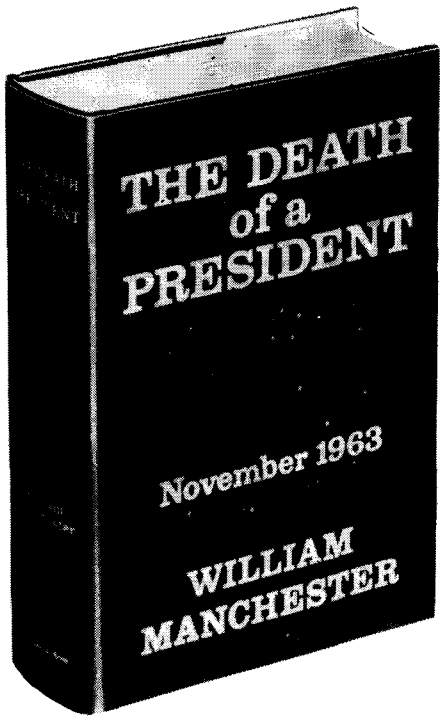

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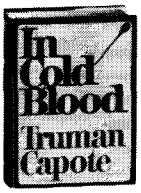

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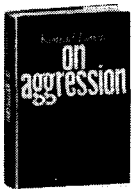

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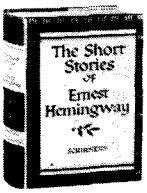

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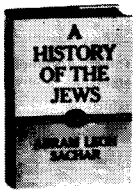

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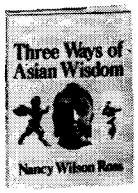

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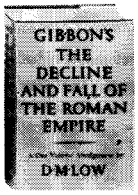

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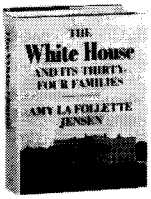

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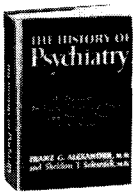

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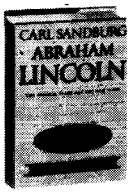

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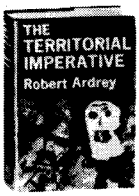

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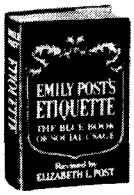

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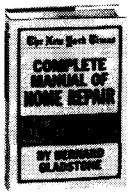

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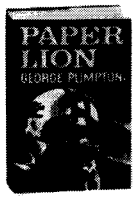

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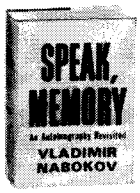

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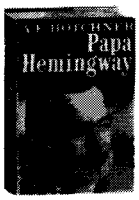

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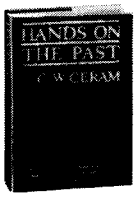

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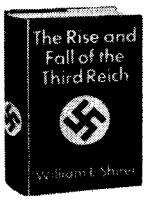

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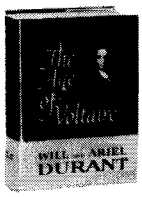

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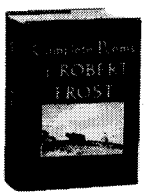

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

OF ALL the measures the Federal government has been called on to enact for the common welfare, none is more sweeping or controversial than the proposals for a guaranteed annual income to the neediest citizens. One of the reasons advanced for the idea has been the need for eliminating the bureaucracy of relief, and among its advocates are professors who are among the most faithful to the principles of classical economics, industrialists, and leaders of both parties. The President has promised to appoint a commission to study the proposals. The methods suggested take many forms, from a negative income tax that would pay the poor to family allowances that would benefit rich and poor alike. **Sar A. Levitan,** a research professor of economics at George Washington University, analyzes the principal proposals for a guaranteed income. He is currently preparing an evaluation of the anti-poverty program under a grant from the Ford Foundation. . . . Another facet of Federal action against poverty, the Legal Services Program, is examined by **Wade Greene,** a member of *Newsweek's* national affairs staff.

SOON AFTER the Greek coup caught the world by surprise, **George Bailey** went to Athens, where he is at home in the politics and language and has often reported for us. This background enabled him to trace the origins of the military uprising to events in 1963 that sapped whatever vitality there was in the not very stable Greek system of political parties and led to ever-changing rules of electioneering. One of the most amazing things Bailey reports is that the Greeks themselves had for so long expected something of the kind to happen that when it finally took place they accepted it passively. . . . **Denis Warner** assembles evidence from many sources of a highly significant trend toward regional co-operation among the non-Communist nations of Asia. . . . Japan's role in this movement and its effort to regain a position of leadership in Asia through trade and aid are described by **Jerrold L. Schecter,** *Time-Life* bureau chief in Tokyo. His *The New Face of Buddha* has just been published by Coward-McCann. . . . Two antagonists on the turbulent Middle East political scene are Ahmed Shukeiri, Cairo-based leader of the refugee Palestinian Arabs, and King Hussein of Jordan, in whose country most of these displaced persons now live. **J. H. Huizinga,** a roving correspondent of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant,* recently interviewed both men. . . . **Fernando Krahn** looks at the world through his own peephole.

WILLIAM L. SHIRER once declared that **Rebecca West** had elevated journalism to an art. But her art also includes novels and literary criticism, the former most recently exemplified by *The Birds Fall Down* (Viking) and the latter by her regular contributions to the London *Daily Telegraph* and other publications. Her review of the William Manchester book first appeared in the *Sunday Telegraph* of April 16. . . . **Werner L. Gundersheimer,** who teaches at the University of Pennsylvania, is the author of *The Life and Works of Louis Le Roy* (Droz, Geneva) and the editor of *The Italian Renaissance* (Prentice-Hall). He has also edited a forthcoming volume for Harper, *French Humanism, 1470-1600,* and is currently working on a book on the Italian Renaissance in Ferrara. . . . **Susan de Lissovoy** has been taking graduate work at Teachers College, Columbia University. This is her first appearance in a national magazine. . . . **John Rosselli** teaches at the University of Sussex, and is the author of *Bentinck and the British Occupation of Sicily* (Cambridge University Press). . . . **Gerald Weales,** our theatre critic, is a past winner of the George Jean Nathan Award for Dramatic Criticism.

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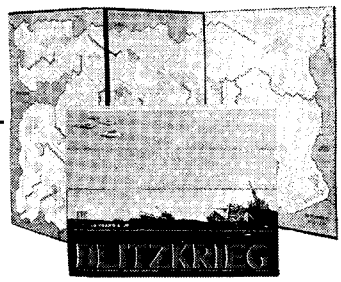

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'UNCLE HO'

To the Editor: Your recent series of editorials has been a great relief. The silent majority has been in need for an eloquent and penetrating spokesman for too long.

As one who has had the involuntary experience of living under two tyrannies, I have watched events in this country with disbelief turning into helpless resignation. Recognized facts are discredited as shady propaganda, while unsubstantiated opinions of a growing army of desk-bound "experts" always find eager ears and are treated with increasing reverence. Personality cultists choose their idols according to the unruliness and amount of hair, not the substance underneath. Otherwise qualified churchmen and professional people become self-appointed political scientists, lawmen, military analysts, and expounders of international morality (whatever that is). They have a double standard for every kind of behavior, and they are highly indignant if acceptance of their "advice" is not instantaneous. Their consciences seem to be uncluttered by memories of how one U.S. President, while defeating one tyranny, doomed millions in Eastern Europe to live under another, because of his arbitrary and misguided trust in good old Uncle Joe. Is it then surprising that we now hear affectionate cries of "good old Uncle Ho," or that even such opposites as Mao and the Pope appear to agree that when in internal trouble, diversion of the attention of one's constituents to external problems will work every time?

VAL VITOLS
Ann Arbor, Michigan

THE KODAK FIGHT

To the Editor: Barbara Carter's article "The FIGHT Against Kodak" (*The Reporter*, April 20), is excellent. I think, for the first time, this controversy has been presented in an understandable, nonprejudiced way.

L. K. EILERS, President
Eastman Kodak Company
Rochester, New York

To the Editor: Barbara Carter's article shows the potentials for organization and action available through a unified approach of civil-rights-oriented groups and individuals. How disappointing, therefore, to see these efforts directed toward the productive segment of our society (in this case large industrial concerns) while the parasites of our society slide by unnoticed. I refer to the slumlords who continue to reap unheard-of profits, usually at the expense of minority groups such as Negroes.

The most promising approach for relieving the burden and oppression of the economically underprivileged lies in the changing of our unfair tax prac-

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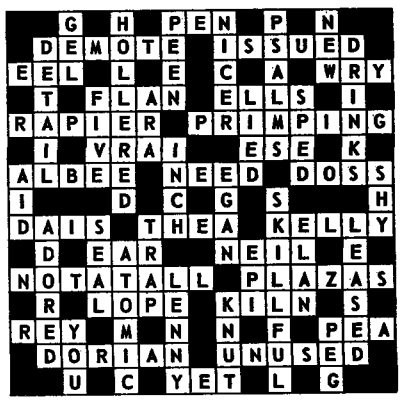

Acrostician—

PRINCESS GRACE

tices. If civil-rights groups were to attack the corruption in the tax agencies and the assessors' offices and were to push for real tax relief in the form of higher land and lower improvement taxes, decent inexpensive housing would soon be available without spending any extra tax dollars.

WILLIAM J. FILANTE, M.D.
San Rafael, California

POWELL

To the Editor: In general, I agree with Paul Duke's conclusions in his article "The Powell Case: Bungling All Around" (*The Reporter*, April 20). There is one notable exception. I was never a "hard-liner" who ". . . believed that the House should in some fashion keep Powell from taking his seat." I went into the investigation with an open mind, but soon reached the conclusion that something along the line ultimately approved by the committee was the best solution to that most vexing problem.

REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES M. TEAGUE
Washington

MATTER OF INTERPRETATION

To the Editor: I found Andrew M. Greeley's review of my book "Division Street: America" (*The Reporter*, April 20) remarkable. Naturally, I'm delighted that he considers me a poet. But what most fascinated me was Father Greeley's ability to read a book without absorbing its meaning.

In interpreting the book as dividing good guys ("social workers like Jane Addams and Jessie Binford, the little people like Florence Scala, who fight the politicians . . .") and bad guys ("the politicians and rich North Shore aristocrats, with the occasional lower-middle-class Birchite thrown in for good measure . . ."), Father Greeley performed the neatest trick of the century. He read the book upside down. Wow! I had the distinct impression (and so did almost all the other reviewers) that the opposite was the case.

I suggest that your man read the next book he reviews and analyze the work rather than the writer.

STUDS TERKEL
Chicago

FRETWORK

To the Editor: In Frederic V. Grunfeld's "The Family of Twang" (*The Reporter*, April 20), I was particularly interested in his excellent description of the Indian instruments. May I respectfully point to a small mistake: He stated that "there are twenty-four movable frets and seven strings" on the veena. In fact the frets on the veena are not movable.

C. V. NARASIMHAN
United Nations, New York

Mr. Grunfeld replies:
I called them movable because the frets on veenas I have seen in Madras are placed on a wax or bitumen base and can be adjusted by the player at will.

If this were an ordinary gin, we would have put it in an ordinary gin bottle

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

As Truman Said

When we sit here tonight, in our evening clothes, partaking of food on white tablecloths, and enjoying ourselves in other ways, bear in mind that there are men fighting and dying in an endeavor to reach that peace for which we have been striving since World War Two ceased.

Remember that these men are baring their breasts for liberty and unity in the world.

It is necessary that the people of the United States, the greatest and most powerful free nation in the world—and I say that not in a bragging way, but because it happens to be the truth—the people of the United States have assumed the responsibility which no other nation in the history of the world has assumed.

We are the leaders of the free peoples of the world. It is necessary that we display that leadership, and we must display it here at home by a unity so that those young men on the battlefields of Korea shall not die in vain, so that those young men in Korea may accomplish the purpose for which they are fighting.

It is necessary that you here at home remember that this is a world crisis, that this crisis must be met through the leadership of the United States of America, and it is up to you people here at home to see that that is accomplished.

In order to accomplish that purpose, you must quit your bickering here at home, you must quit playing petty politics, you must remember that there are certain things that have to be done here at home, if we are going to accomplish the purpose.

We are fighting for time. The young men in Korea and Japan are fighting for time—for us.

There is always an emphasis on the casualties in Korea. Of course, when there is fighting, there are casualties.

But, did it ever occur to you that if this necessity with which we are faced is not met, that the casualties in Korea will be one small drop in the bucket from one of those horrible bombs of which we talk so much.

Think—think—think what a responsibility your President faces in a situation of this kind. If you would think, and think clearly on this subject, you would get behind me and help me to win this peace.

And that is what I am asking you to do.

And that is what our armed forces are in the field to do.

It is up to you.

—Remarks at the Armed Forces Day dinner at the Statler Hotel in Washington on May 18, 1951.

That Old Hand McCloy

On May 2, the administration disclosed the details of its agreement with London and Bonn on a proposed reduction of U.S. and British troops in West Germany. The three governments also announced simultaneously that they had reached agreement on some new arrangements to ease the foreign-exchange problems of Britain and the United States, without automatically obligating the West Germans to "offset" their expenditures with the purchase of British and U.S. goods. The plan, which will now be submitted to the NATO Defense Planning Committee, envisions the redeployment to the United States on a rotating basis of thirty-five thousand troops—two brigades of infantrymen and four Air Force fighter-bomber squadrons. Since three brigades and nine squadrons will be involved in the rotation, however, all of their dependents will be returned to the United States. It is estimated that the plan would result in a saving of around $100 million annually in foreign exchange. For their part, the British would withdraw about 6,500 troops, which is fewer than they originally had in mind, but Bonn would lighten their financial burden with certain offset purchases. The Germans also committed themselves to the purchase of $500 million in U.S. government securities and publicly pledged that they would not exchange any of their dollar holdings for gold in the foreseeable or unforeseeable future.

THE AGREEMENT was widely hailed in the press as a near-miracle of mutual accommodation, and John J. McCloy, the former U.S. High Commissioner for Germany who negotiated for the United States, was accordingly complimented for having somehow brought tripartite agreement out of tripartite chaos. But that was not the half of it. There were many more parties to the dispute than the Germans, the British, and the Americans, and in effect Mr. McCloy (and the White House) deserve at least as much credit for having negotiated a temporary truce among them on the question of NATO troop commitments. They are the State Department, the Secretary of Defense, the Treasury, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Democratic members of the U.S. Senate.

Roughly, the participants could be divided into those who at one time or another favored much more drastic reductions (Secretary McNamara and the Senators) and those who favored few or none. The Joint Chiefs and numerous officials at State were in the latter category. When the President designated Mr. McCloy to adjudicate their differences as well as those among the Allies, it was generally supposed that this move represented an early State Department victory over Defense, since Mr. McCloy would (and did) refuse to go along with a massive redeployment of troops.

His chore was not made any eas-

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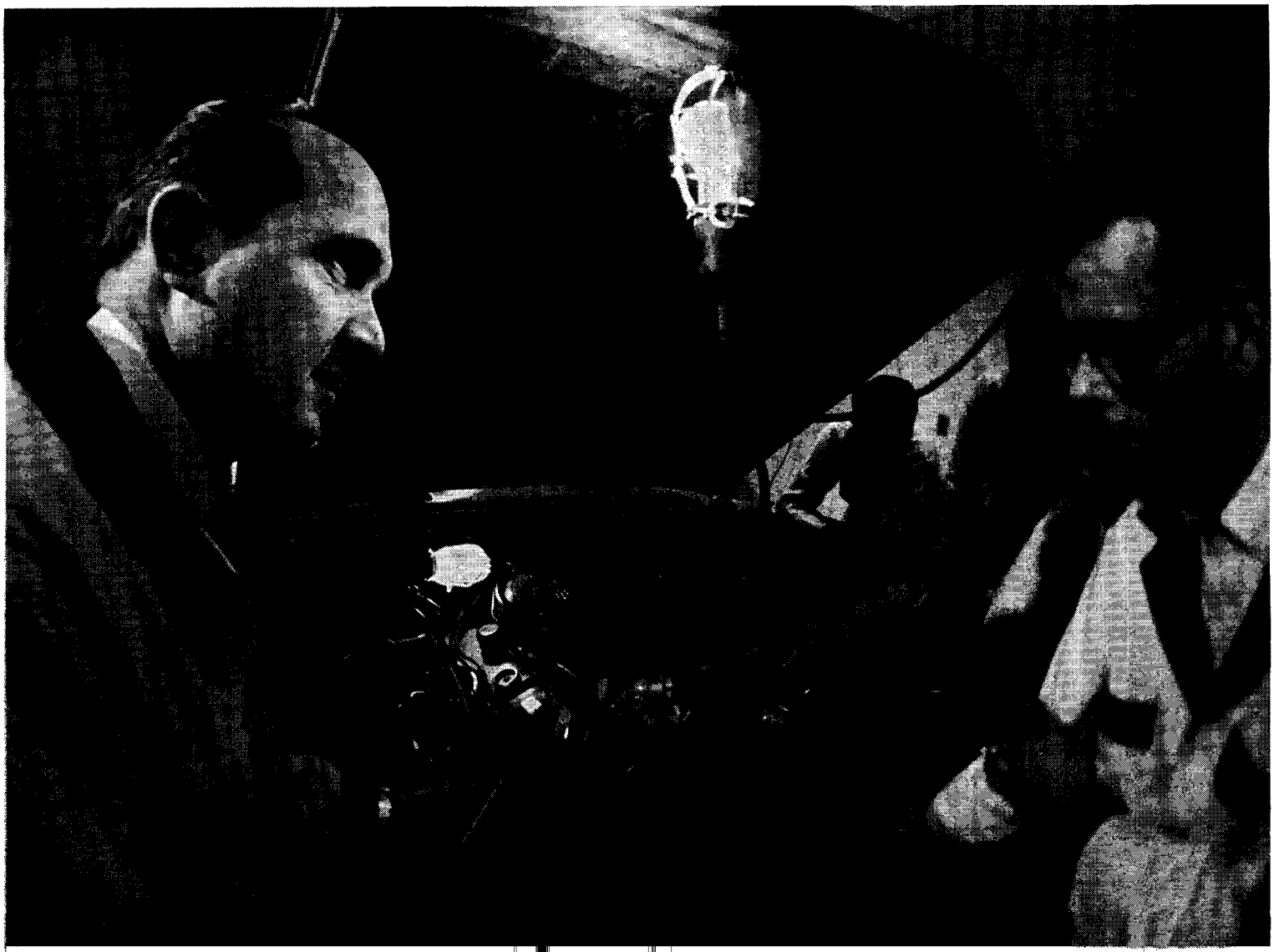

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ier by the fact that even those who took the same position often did so for varying reasons—economic, strategic, and political. The group of Democratic Senators who joined Majority Leader Mike Mansfield last year in calling for a substantial reduction of troops was itself a coalition of these different points of view. Some, such as Senator Stuart Symington (D., Missouri), were primarily disturbed by the gold drain. Others were of the view that the Soviet Union had mellowed to such a degree of benignity that NATO forces could be drastically curtailed. Among these, there were also Senators who believed that such a curtailment would set a peaceful example that the Warsaw Pact countries might follow.

THE COUNTERARGUMENTS in the Senate were summed up by Senator Henry M. Jackson (D., Washington), who insisted that "Any suggestion for a unilateral cut of American combat forces in Europe, with no quid pro quo from the Communist side, constitutes foolish advice to the President of the United States." He added: "Such a recommendation at this time would confirm the European skeptics in their claims of American unreliability." Senator Joseph S. Clark (D., Pennsylvania) also objected that a unilateral withdrawal passed up an opportunity for a troop-reduction agreement between East and West.

When the McCloy group entered this disorderly scene there was danger, as U.S. officials have put it, of a "stampede." In its inter-Allied and interdepartmental dealings, the mission therefore set about to achieve some agreement on the present size and strength of Warsaw Pact forces in Central Europe. Its review concluded that the strength and capabilities of these troops had not diminished but rather had increased. Reportedly, however, the strategic implications of this fact remained in dispute until the mission came up with the rather ingenious financial formulations that the Germans and British accepted. The financial solution is said to have had a marked effect on the military thinking of some of the participants in the discussions, who revised their opinions about necessary troop levels and tripwires when it became clear that the cost would not be so burdensome.

Since the announcement of the agreement, only the Joint Chiefs have complained about it publicly. Apparently they consider that they have "lost" to McNamara, although it is equally widely believed in Washington that the McNamara view lost out to the strictures of the Joint Chiefs and to the misgivings of the State Department. Indeed, Senator Jackson, who led the opposition to the troop-cut resolution in the Senate, has announced his entire satisfaction with the result, thirty-five thousand rotating troops being nothing like what his colleagues had in mind.

Meanwhile, although the Senate resolution is still under consideration and although Senator Mansfield has described the tripartite arrangement as only an acceptable first step, few people in Washington expect that the Senate Democrats will actively revive the issue or get very far with it if they do. In the aftermath of the government's announcement, none of the interested parties in Washington seemed able to decide whether to claim a victory or to deplore a defeat. That is something of a victory for Mr. McCloy; and although the truce is only temporary, President Johnson could well have had more in mind than inter-Allied affairs when he sent Mr. McCloy a telegram of congratulation.

A Little Learning

Representative Henry S. Reuss (D., Wisconsin) has leveled some familiar charges against social scientists laboring on behalf of the government. A massive collation of criticism produced by the Congressman's subcommittee on Research and Technical Programs states that the $380 million spent annually by the government in social research produces, in the first place, too many reports. These reports are often myopic and redundant, the subcommittee claims, as well as "trivial or irrelevant; usable but not used; valuable, but buried in scholarly journals or government filing cabinets."

This allegation is at least as old as that made against the Oxford Clerk in the *Canterbury Tales*, who kept at his bedside but seldom read

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"Twenty bokes, clad in blak or reed,
Of Aristotle and his philosophye."
This behavior finds present-day fruition in a $7,300 government grant for "Formal Models of Mass Social Processes"; $13,600 for "Dimensionality of Nations"; $41,300 for "Multivariate Analysis of Legislative Behavior"; and (more title for more money) $366,300 for "A Program of Collaboration and Research Services Among Social Science Data Archives." One need not be a yahoo or an anti-intellectual Scrooge to ponder the merits of giving such large fees to vandals of the English language.

The Reuss subcommittee also found that "few Federal agencies ask social researchers to evaluate critically and candidly" and that "Federal agencies have a tendency to withhold research findings critical of present performance or policies." Worse yet, for apostles of automation, is that "the current fashion of quantitative analysis and indiscriminate accumulation of large bodies of facts, made possible by the computer, often leads away from, rather than toward, greater social understanding. Yet the Federal government encourages the first and permits the second in the name of 'science.'"

The Reuss report is indeed an eloquent denunciation of the tedium and tautology afflicting the social sciences. But the report itself, alas, is a poignant, Cassandra-like symbol of the problem. It weighs four pounds, ten ounces, and goes on for 2,303 pages. Moreover, it is only a preface, Reuss says, and simply "provides a basis for hearings by the subcommittee." The four-volume tome, although it is not clad in black or red, does assure some solace for the descendants of Chaucer's Clerk:

"Nowher so bisy a man as he ther nas,
And yet he semed bisier than he was."

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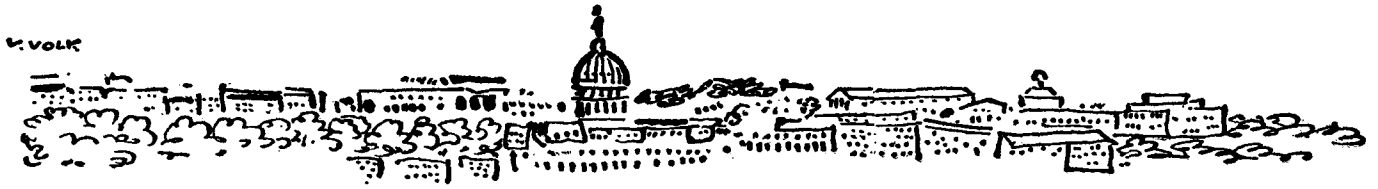


The Pitfalls of Guaranteed Income

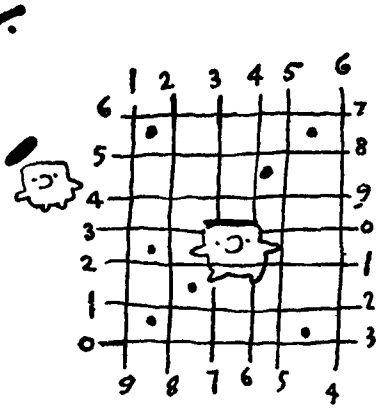
SAR A. LEVITAN

THREE YEARS have elapsed since President Johnson exhorted the nation to wage a total war on poverty. Congress responded to the President's call by enacting the Economic Opportunity Act and a related series of laws, and there has been broad public support of the legislation. Nevertheless, even the most ardent advocates of this war admit that the measurable achievements have been minimal and that its future direction remains in doubt. Although the number of the poor, as counted by official government statistics, has declined during the past three years by some two million, thirty-two million remain poor. And most of the six per cent decline was the result of economic growth and a tightening labor market, a product of monetary and fiscal policies and the demands of the war in Vietnam.

Help and Humiliation

Many supporters of the war on poverty find the slow progress frustrating. However, their commitment to combat poverty persists. Since the strategy designed in 1964 has, at best, produced minimal results, it is hardly surprising that the search for new weapons which will dispatch the enemy in short order has intensified. In contrast to the anti-poverty program, which has concentrated on self-help measures aimed at rehabilitating and training the poor, the new proposals center on lifting the poor out of poverty by providing them income.

Programs to provide income aren't new. The Social Security Act of 1935 provided for income maintenance for the aged population and temporary aid to workers forced into idleness. The coverage has since been extended to include dependent survivors of workers covered by the social insurance system and to those who become permanently disabled. Pensions are also paid to permanently disabled war veterans and to their dependents.



Most relevant for the poor are the public-assistance programs, also established under the Social Security Act. They provide financial aid to some 7.5 million persons in four categories: the aged, the permanently disabled, the blind, and families with dependent children. The annual cost of these programs has recently amounted to more than $5 billion. Both the cost and the coverage have been expanding consistently during the past two decades, particularly for the program of Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

The AFDC program has been under increasing attack from foes and friends alike. The major criticism is that the program tends to perpetuate poverty, providing little or no incentive to escape public assistance. In most cases, any earnings of a family are deducted from the public-assistance receipts. These deductions are tantamount to a one hundred per cent tax on income. When a mother (about ninety per cent of AFDC families are headed by females and incapacitated males) secures a job paying in excess of her assistance payment, the family is dropped from the rolls. If she loses her job, which happens frequently because of the marginal employment available to the public-assistance recipient, she may find it difficult to be reinstated on the rolls. Thus the way the system is administered discourages any incentive to gain employment and to escape poverty.

Though the Federal government contributes more than half of the total cost of the program, its administration, within broad Federal standards, is left to the states; they determine qualifications, eligibility, and the level of benefits. Many poor families cannot qualify for assistance, and those who do are subjected to continued harassment and control of their lives.

IT IS NO WONDER, then, that there has been a clamor to terminate the present harsh and humiliating public-assistance system and to sub-

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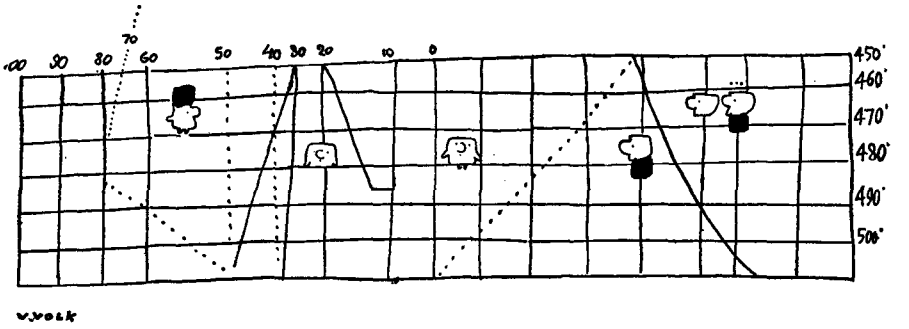
stitute a more comprehensive form of cash assistance to the poor. The most widely discussed proposals would utilize the present income-tax machinery as a vehicle for supplying income to the poor. The law, currently providing only for the collection of taxes, would be extended to include grants based on family or individual income—a negative income tax. This idea has gained the support of persons with varied social and economic philosophies, and their proposals defy the usual label of liberal or conservative. The question is, Would they work?

The implementation of any guaranteed income plan, including the negative income tax, must resolve two basic issues: the amount of aid that would be given to the poor and the impact that the guaranteed income would have upon the incentive to work. In its simplest form, a negative income tax would allow the poor to claim a predetermined portion of their income below the poverty threshold. For example, according to government statistics, the poverty threshold for a family of four is about $3,130. Assuming that the negative income-tax rate were fixed at fifty per cent, a family of four with an annual income of $1,000 would receive an additional $1,065 from the government. If the family had no income at all, its total negative income tax would be $1,565, or fifty per cent of its total minimum needs. The net annual cost of such a plan, after deduction of current public-assistance payments, would amount to about $5 billion. It would alleviate poverty but would by no means eliminate it.

Other proposals for a negative income tax would eliminate poverty by overhauling the present tax system to grant poor people enough money to bring all of them up to the poverty threshold. For example, a family of four with an income of $2,000 a year would receive a grant of $1,130; if the family had no income, it would receive $3,130. Such a program would require payments totaling an estimated $11 billion a year. However, the guarantee of a poverty-level income would remove the pecuniary incentives for millions of people to work, since their incomes would remain at the poverty threshold whether or not they held jobs. Ten million workers in the United States earn less than $1.50 an hour—that is, $3,000 a year or less even if they work full time throughout the year. To counter this possibility of lessened incentive, a workable plan must permit low-wage earners to keep at least a portion of their earned income. Thus a family of four with an income of $3,000 might be able to claim a negative income tax of, say, $1,200, making its total income higher than the family without a wage earner. This would, of course, increase the cost of the program beyond the $11 billion needed simply to bring all poor people up to the poverty threshold. The magnitude of the cost would depend on the extent of incentives that any plan would provide. A reasonable plan, according to Professor Robert J. Lampman of the University of Wisconsin, would double the annual cost of the plan to about $22 billion.



Half a Loaf—or More?

Of the various negative income-tax proposals, those of economists Milton Friedman and James Tobin have received the widest currency.

Friedman, now president of the American Economic Association, served as an adviser to Republican Presidential candidate Barry Goldwater in 1964. His advocacy of the negative income tax stems from his opposition to the welfare state and the interference of public-assistance administrators in the lives of their clients. On close examination, his plan hardly offers a panacea to the poor. Essentially, Friedman favors an income guarantee, but he would eliminate publicly supported welfare programs to maximize consumer "free choice." And, concerned that a guaranteed income would lessen the incentive to work, he proposes that income maintenance be limited to fifty per cent of minimum needs. The poor would therefore exercise "free" market choice with only half the income needed to reach the poverty threshold. Granted that government-sponsored welfare programs often fail to meet their intended goals, it hardly requires sophisticated analysis to see that the poor would be hard put to replace the services now offered under such programs with their "fifty per cent income."

Tobin, a Yale professor who was an economic adviser to President Kennedy, would not only continue and strengthen the present job-creation, training, and other social-service programs aimed at helping the poor; he would also extend the negative income tax beyond the poverty threshold. Though Tobin would have a relatively low income guarantee of $400 annually per individual ($2,000 for a family of five), he would allow an individual to keep two-thirds of his earnings in addition to the guaranteed income. Under this plan the annual income of a family of five could rise to $6,000 (more than fifty per cent above the poverty threshold) before it lost its guaranteed income.

The benefits of these two plans are significant for the working poor. The Tobin plan would virtually eliminate poverty among the two million poor families (with about five and a half million children) whose heads work full time but because of low wages are still counted among the poor. However, of the majority of the poor who are too old, young, ill, or encumbered with family responsibilities to accept gainful employment, both plans would leave some worse off than they are now under public assistance. In a number of states, includ-

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ing California and New York, the level of public-assistance benefits is higher than the guaranteed income of $375 per individual proposed by Friedman or the $400 proposed by Tobin. If these states are to maintain their present level of income for the poor, public assistance or some other form of supplementation would have to be continued.

Of course, the guaranteed income could be raised far above Tobin's suggested level in order to provide a basic "decent" income for all, as others have proposed. But their schemes would be much costlier than the estimated $22 billion a year needed to raise the income of all to the poverty threshold while still providing incentives to work. Even under the Tobin plan, about half the population would benefit, requiring annual payments of about $4 billion to people above the poverty threshold and raising the tax levels of the other half, who would have to finance the plan. The "positive" taxpayers also deserve some consideration.

ASIDE FROM the high costs, a negative income tax would raise many new problems. It would distribute uniform minimum amounts to all beneficiaries. But the cost of living varies widely among urban areas and between urban and rural areas. While government statistics show that the poverty threshold for a family of four in urban areas is now about $3,100, the same size family in a rural area requires only about seventy per cent of that amount to meet its basic needs. A uniform guaranteed income would therefore contain inherent inequities.

A guaranteed income program also contains serious administrative difficulties and lends itself to abuse. Owners of small businesses, farmers, or persons with other income-producing assets could divest themselves of their income by deeding or gifting their properties, whereupon they would become entitled to receive the full measure of guaranteed income. While such abuses might be minimized by Internal Revenue Service detective work, the problem of determining eligibility would remain. Present public assistance is geared to provide for basic needs, even though it does so inadequately. How would the income deficit of the negative income-tax recipient be paid? If he had to wait until his income deficit made him eligible, he would not receive the aid when he needed it most. On the other hand, if payments were made on the basis of income anticipations, they would be based on guesses; and if actual income exceeded advance estimates, the subsidies would have to be repaid—a difficult burden on low-income recipients. In addition, beneficiaries would not be able to predict illnesses or other unforeseen mishaps. Under these circumstances, a negative income tax would still have to be supplemented by some form of public assistance.

Another inherent deficiency of the negative income tax is that income differentials between skilled and unskilled workers would be reduced. While there is nothing sacrosanct about present wage differentials, there is little information about what impact the narrowing of income differentials would have on the supply of skilled and technical workers. Would it discourage ap-

prenticeship or the learning of skills? Would skilled workers succeed in pushing up differentials narrowed by the guaranteed income and thus increase inflationary pressures? The present state of knowledge does not offer definitive answers to these questions. Before a guaranteed income is accepted, more insights about what motivates people to acquire skills is needed, lest the guaranteed income create distortions in the operations of the economy.

The impact that the guaranteed income would have on participation of the labor force, or the willingness of people to work once they are assured a minimal income, is even more in doubt. It would depend partly upon the level of the guaranteed income. Tobin's modest guarantee, plus the liberal incentives to earn income above the guarantee, can hardly be expected to discourage people from working. But this assumes that jobs would be available. Many of the poor are stranded in slums or in depressed areas and in impoverished rural areas where work opportunities are extremely limited. Even a modest guaranteed income might well become another barrier keeping many of these unemployed and underemployed workers from seeking gainful employment in areas where jobs are available.

A Bonus for Babies

In the last few years, family allowances have received considerable attention as an alternative to the negative income tax. Those who favor universal allowances to families with children point to the fact that the negative income tax relies upon a means test to qualify individuals to receive assistance.

The proposal of Professor Daniel P. Moynihan of Harvard, a former Assistant Secretary of Labor and one of the architects of the Federal war on poverty, has received wide publicity. His plan calls for an annual distribution of $9 billion in family allowances. On the surface this would appear a rather generous plan that should go a long way toward the reduction of poverty, considering that this is nearly double the amount we now spend on public assistance. However, this plan calls for the distribution of this amount among all families with children—the rich and the poor. Since the average monthly allowance per child would amount to only about $10, the plan would hardly be a substitute for the present public-assistance program. It would merely equal the public assistance offered in Mississippi, which pays the lowest benefits of all fifty states. The Moynihan proposal, based essentially on Canadian experience, may be politically attractive and have considerable appeal to lower middle-class families with

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growing children, but it leaves much to be desired as a tool to help the poor.

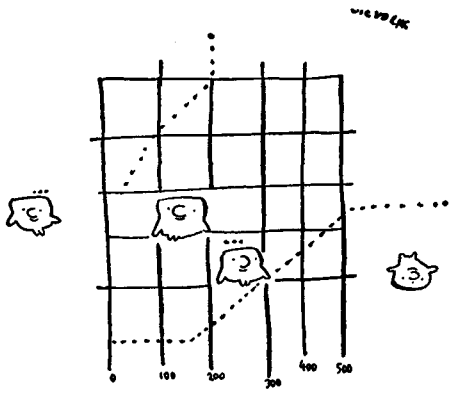
An alternative plan was proposed by Alvin L. Schorr, an official of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Arguing that family needs are greatest in the formative years, Schorr would provide $50 per child through age six and $10 a month for older children. To reduce the cost of his plan, he would eliminate the present income-tax exemptions for children. Thus the benefits accruing to rich families would be reduced because a considerable portion of the children's allowance benefits would be paid in taxes. Still, families with incomes up to about $40,000 would come out ahead and the annual cost would amount to about $12 billion.

It would seem that the proponents of family allowances go a long way to avoid a means test and that the advocates of negative income-tax schemes are constrained to provide a minimum decent income to the poor, lest they interfere with incentives to work. For every child from a poor family receiving income under a universal family allowance, four better-off children would also receive aid; and whereas only one of every seven families is poor, half of the American families would benefit by the Tobin plan.

President Johnson has taken notice of the wide debate concerning universal income support by announcing in his 1967 Economic Report that he would appoint a commission "to examine the many proposals that have been put forward, reviewing their merits and disadvantages." The commission, when it is appointed, will have two years to prepare the report. In the absence of a formal administration position, Federal officials have avoided taking a stand on the negative income tax or related plans. It is, however, no secret that the Tobin plan, possibly with some modifications, has received sympathetic consideration by top Office of Economic Opportunity officials.

Meanwhile, the needs of the poor are too pressing to wait for completion of additional studies. Without negating the potential benefits of universal income-maintenance plans, there is a simpler way to help the poor.

Since the poor are not a homogeneous lot, it should not come as a surprise that no single plan can be adapted to their needs. Social Security already provides a very effective vehicle to supply income to the aged. Unfortunately, the present minimum benefits are too low and leave many of the aged in dire poverty. President Johnson's proposal to raise the minimum from $44 to $70 per month would help to reduce poverty among the aged, and raising the minimum by another few dollars would practically eliminate it. This can be done with little concern that income guarantees for the five million aged poor would reduce incentives to work and, anyway, the present law permits recipients of Social Security to earn an additional $1,500 a year without reducing their benefits.



Ways and Means

To provide income for the other twenty-seven million poor, a means test remains necessary, keeping in mind the observation of a perceptive social worker that "a means test does not have to be mean." The present harsh qualification test, requiring detailed checks and continuing justification, can be easily eliminated, as the experience of the Federal government in administering the pension plan for veterans has demonstrated. After proving eligibility, all a veteran has to do to qualify for a pension is to file a relatively simple form. Thereafter, once a year, he must submit information needed by the Veterans Administration to keep his claim active. The annual data, filed on a postcard-sized form, include information about the veteran's assets, income, and dependents eligible to receive benefits. The same system can be adapted for recipients of public assistance; the New York City Welfare Department is already experimenting with such a plan.

The level of public-assistance benefits in most states should also be raised. At present, each state determines the annual cost of basic needs. The median basic needs calculated by the states for a mother with three children on AFDC is about $2,500. However, in two of every three states the actual benefits fall below this predetermined minimum need. In a recent message to Congress, President Johnson proposed that each state be required to pay the full amount of basic needs according to its own determination. In addition, the President proposed that monthly earnings up to $150 per family would not affect the level of benefits that a family is entitled to receive under public assistance. A better plan for providing incentive to work would permit a family to maintain a predetermined proportion of any earned income, depending upon its need. Adoption of this type of proposal with a simplified means test would greatly improve the public-assistance program and would leave social workers free to help rehabilitate families and offer them necessary social services that would help them escape from poverty.

Finally, there will still be many employable members of families on public assistance. The best way to help them escape poverty is to provide them with employment opportunities. This can be achieved either through the government's assuming the responsibility as "an employer of last resort," providing jobs to potential workers who cannot secure employment on the open market, or by subsidizing private employers to provide jobs for the poor.

The needs of the poor are pressing, and it is obvious that the present anti-poverty program will provide only limited aid. The immediacy of the need to alleviate poverty requires concentration upon tailor-made programs to help the poor. Plans for a more perfect society must wait a little longer.

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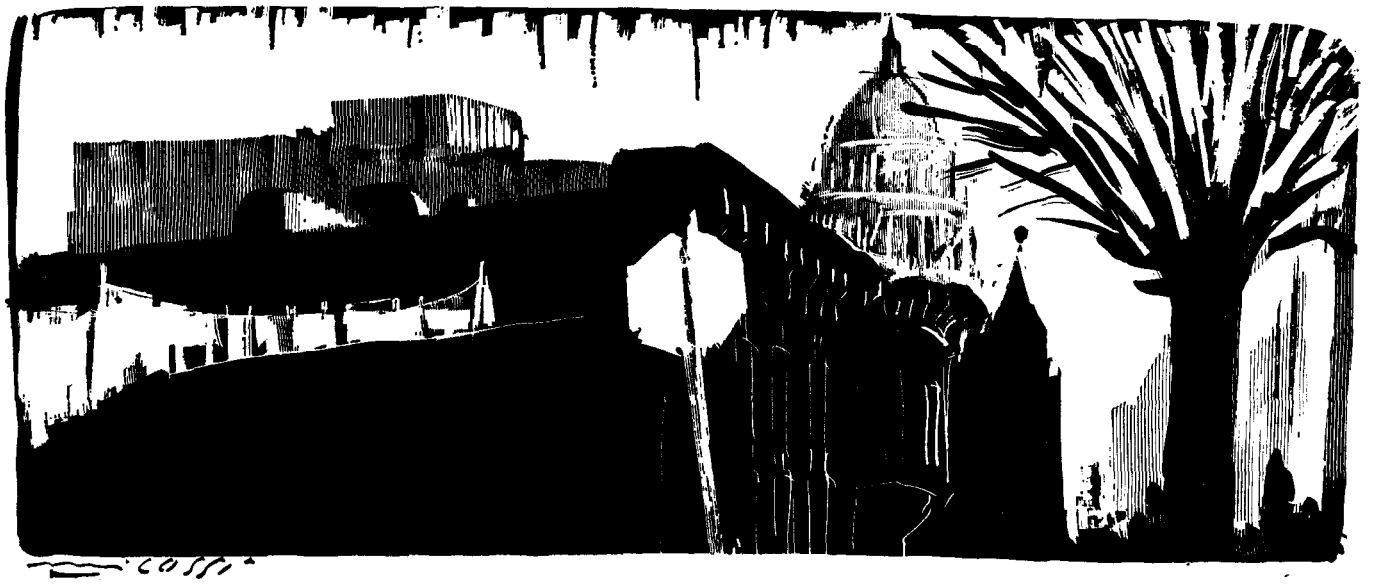

Helping the Poor Find Justice

WADE GREENE

With little publicity, the Legal Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity is emerging as potentially one of the most valuable and durable projects of the war on poverty. Through its neighborhood law offices it is already providing direct legal counsel and assistance to the poor in many parts of the country. Some of the program's most ardent supporters, especially academic sociologists, would like to see it go much further in bringing about fundamental reforms affecting the poor. They believe it is a useful instrument for defining, enforcing, and ultimately enlarging the asserted rights of the poor through the courts. The emphasis of these visionary supporters, often standing in sharp contrast to the traditional approach of the privately financed legal-aid societies, has created some opposition; but the program itself has proved good enough to win over other initial opponents.

Neighborhood Lawyers

Operating on a $30-million budget and headed by a former Justice Department junior staff member, thirty-three-year-old Earl Johnson, the Legal Services Program has set aside funds for 180 local projects around the country, with some six hundred offices, most of them in poor neighborhoods. Of these, 155 projects and some 550 offices are already in operation. LSP has also given infusions of money to long-established and long-undernourished legal-aid and public-defender services, allowing them to expand their operations greatly. On occasion it has even supplied the poor with credit that enabled them to hire attorneys of their choice under experimental "Judicare" programs.

Most of LSP's operations started only last summer, but already the amount of legal representation for the poor has multiplied many times and the poor have gained greater leverage in their day-to-day dealings with landlords, merchants, and bureaucracies. This, according to the program's staff members, is a worthy goal in itself. To the poor, the law has often meant only welfare cutoffs, wage attachments, arrogant policemen, and marshals with eviction notices. Being able to call on a lawyer for advice or representation gives the poor a sense of participation, power, and dignity, as well as more tangible gains. Legal-service advocates point out that society at large benefits, too. "We in the Legal Services Program," Earl Johnson has said, "have a duty to do everything to substitute justice in the courts for violence in the streets."

At the latest count, eleven hundred full-time lawyers, their average wages of $9,500 a year paid from the Federal treasury, were working for clients who could not have afforded them before. Their activities cover the full range of legal concerns except felony trial work, which is left to court-appointed lawyers, and cases that private lawyers might want to take for a share of a potential monetary award.

Take, for instance, the experience of Marna Tucker, a twenty-five-year-old lawyer who has worked with the Neighborhood Legal Services Project in Washington for a year and a half. During a recent three-day period she handled a variety of cases. In one of them she defended a young man on a petty-larceny charge—her first jury trial. Such cases are normally whisked through court in about an hour, but this

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time the jury's deliberations alone took an hour and a half. The man was found guilty, but because of a probation report based largely on Miss Tucker's investigation into his background—which included psychiatric treatment—her client is free and undergoing further psychiatric care.

A day after the jury trial, a mother of two children came to Miss Tucker's office; almost hysterical, she said that one of her children had been bitten by a rat and that she wanted to move out of her apartment. The lawyer placed the mother and her children in temporary lodgings, found welfare and charity funds for them, and eventually helped find them a new apartment. She referred the rat-bite case to a private attorney, who plans to file a suit against the landlord for damages. Later on the same day, a couple from Roxbury, Massachusetts, was referred to her by District juvenile authorities, who were holding the couple's son on suspicion of armed robbery. Miss Tucker argued with the authorities that the evidence would never stand up in court; they agreed to let the boy go home with his parents.

The next day, Miss Tucker began looking into the possibility of seeking relief under the bankruptcy laws for a couple with three children whose combined earnings were $116 a week and who had four thousand dollars in debts. One obstacle was a fifty-dollar fee required by the courts for a bankruptcy petition. The LSP lawyer considered trying to challenge the fee as a violation of the "unequal protection of the law" clause of the Constitution on the grounds that it clearly did not provide as equal an avenue to legal remedies for someone without fifty dollars as it did for a potential bankrupt who still had that much to spare.

Poor clients naturally are pleased by such attentions, but not everybody else is. Some of Washington's lower-court judges are unhappy about the traffic jams in their courts caused by the energetic advocacy of the program's lawyers. Their opposition sometimes goes deeper. "It is no secret that many judges, including myself, are somewhat disenchanted with the Neighborhood Legal Services' attorneys," said General Sessions Judge Charles W. Halleck at a recent legal gathering. The lawyers, he said, were using their cases "to test novel legal points. . . . These crusading knights on white chargers are trying to take every fifteen-cent case all the way up to the Supreme Court."

New Laws for Old

Indeed, changes in the law and in its administration are what many of the poverty lawyers are aiming toward, above and beyond their patchwork responses to their clients' daily crises. Earl Johnson even announced in March that law reform would thereafter be the primary goal of the program. Toward this end, appeals on a number of major legal issues have been prepared and are currently before state and Federal courts.

Paralleling the government's efforts in this area is a private group, the National Office for the Rights of the Indigent, which is headed by Jack Greenberg of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Last November Greenberg received a million-dollar grant from the Ford Foundation to set up the new group. It will focus on test cases involving the poor in much the same way that the Legal Defense Fund has led civil-rights battles through the courts. "Those of us who years ago were concerned solely with what I might call the orthodox issues of civil rights," Greenberg says, "have little by little, and for a time not fully realizing it, been dealing more and more with questions of poverty."

Greenberg and other poverty-rights advocates are hoping to benefit, as civil-rights advocates have benefited, from a shift of judicial philosophy in the United States—"to justice and away from fine-spun technicalities and abstract rules," as Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan put it last year. This shift can be seen in the Supreme Court's 1963 decision in *Gideon* v. *Wainwright*, requiring that courts provide counsel for poor defendants in felony trials. Radical reforms in bail procedures also are being inaugurated across the country: fewer poor men accused of crimes now need languish in jail pending trial for lack of a deposit to ensure their appearance in court. And last December, the high court unanimously ruled that a state had to pay for legal papers, such as trial transcripts, if a poor prisoner wanted them in order to appeal his conviction.

In recent months Justices Brennan and Abe Fortas have demonstrated their receptiveness to the idea of extending protections for the poor from the field of criminal law to the far more pervasive and controversial arena of civil law. "We are on the threshold of a great development in law," Justice Fortas said in September. "We are now ready to begin the process of using the law and lawyers not merely as instruments of defense against criminal accusation, but as positive tools in the everyday life of one-sixth of our population who live on society's fringes."

LAST DECEMBER, in what poverty lawyers hoped would be a landmark case, the Supreme Court agreed to review the first welfare-rule challenge based on a Constitutional right that is neither religious nor political. Mrs. Joyce C. Thorpe, with the aid of a battery of poverty lawyers including Jack Greenberg, contested the decision of the Housing Authority of Durham, North Carolina, to terminate her lease without a hearing or explanation the day after she was elected an official in a tenants' organization. The North Carolina Supreme Court had upheld the eviction of the Negro mother of three, saying that the Housing Authority's obligations to its tenants were the same as a private landlord's and therefore the authority did not have to hold a hearing or explain why it was evicting Mrs. Thorpe.

In their lower-court challenge, Mrs. Thorpe's lawyers contended: "The tenant in a public housing project has a *right* to her apartment, and a deprivation of that right without a hearing violates due process of law." Their Supreme Court brief summed up the ultimate implication of the legal issue at stake: "The question presented by this case is no less than whether thousands of persons are able to live at a minimum level of comfort and decency without being denied this right by arbitrary

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and unexplained actions of public agencies. In addition, the broader question is involved of the right of persons receiving any public benefits to at least a bare minimum of procedural protection before the very necessities for life are taken from them." Under legal interpretations that stem from English poor laws, the prevalent judicial view in the United States is that welfare benefits are in effect a charity of the state, which can be granted or withheld on any grounds the state in its wisdom chooses: the beneficiary has no more rights concerning his benefits than does the recipient of a gift.

The master strategist in trying to limit the discretionary powers of welfare agencies and to establish a firm claim to welfare benefits by the poor is thirty-eight-year-old Edward V. Sparer, a former labor lawyer who once headed Mobilization for Youth's Legal Services Program on Manhattan's lower East Side. On a $112,000 grant from OEO plus $40,000 from private sources, he and six other lawyers plot welfare-law appeals from an office at Columbia University, where Sparer is legal director of the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law of the university's School of Social Work. He was delighted when the Supreme Court agreed to review the Thorpe case—he did much of the research for it.

Following the Supreme Court move, however, the Department of Housing and Urban Development ruled that a public-housing tenant was entitled to a statement of the reasons for his eviction and a conference with his would-be evictors. The Supreme Court then referred the case back to the lower court for consideration under this new rule. The poverty lawyers were disappointed in missing a Supreme Court showdown, but they think that the HUD rule may have been prompted by the litigation. Therefore, Greenberg says, they consider it a "half-step forward."

Thickets of Tradition

There are established powers within the judicial system who are plainly skeptical about the new legal services for the poor and what they are trying to do. Four months ago, the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court, under a prerogative open to it, refused to allow three proposed OEO legal-service corporations to set up shop. The court said its primary objection was the complex structure of the corporations, which would prohibit "effective professional or disciplinary supervision by the court." But the court also seemed to be expressing uneasiness about certain political and social aspects of legal services for the poor in general. The plans, the court declared, were deficient "in not prohibiting entirely and without evasive qualifications political lobbying and propagandistic activity." They also were unsatisfactory "in the

indiscriminate mingling of social goals and legitimate legal practice." The court also expressed fears that the law firms for the poor would advise and represent "political factions or organizations of social and economic protest, however worthy."

Other objections have also been voiced in Houston, where some local lawyers disputed the propriety of the Legal Services Program in giving assistance in a civil-rights suit. And Governor William L. Guy of North Dakota vetoed the program proposed for that state, after an informal sounding of local lawyers indicated their opposition.

Yet there is a steadily growing recognition in the legal community that the nation stands to benefit from the program. Some formidable doubters have become champions. The American Bar Association, for one, overcame some original misgivings and enthusiastically backed LSP, going so far as to establish a committee to consider overhauling its long-sacrosanct Canon of Ethics to make allowances for the special problems of providing legal aid to the poor. And last summer, the American Trial Lawyers Association's board overrode a resolution by its president and vice-president that called the Federal program "costly," "wasteful," and "inferior" and then offered co-operation with LSP.

TRADITIONAL private legal-aid societies also have come to a peaceful and in some areas even friendly coexistence with LSP. Only two years ago, the executive committee of the National Legal Aid and Defender Association issued a statement declaring: "The creation of separate duplicating agencies to offer legal service will be more costly and less effective than will proper use of existing facilities." Yet last year, the association's president, Theodore Voorhees of Philadelphia, revealed an almost total turnabout. "We have not been foresighted and cannot claim the slightest credit for the initiation of the OEO Legal Services Program," he said. "It did not take us long, however, to realize its potential value, and NLADA at the present time is more vocal in its insistence upon the full-fledged development of this new legal service than [OEO director Sargent] Shriver and the President himself."

A few months later, President Johnson strongly endorsed the LSP, suggesting that it had become a primary weapon in the war on poverty. LSP has also received the qualified blessings of Congress, which has earmarked community-action funds for the program.

This growing support for the Legal Services Program both in and out of government is not hard to understand. For in helping the impoverished assert their rights by recourse to the established rules and regulations of society, the program helps society as well.

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ABROAD

The Puritan Revolt In Greece

GEORGE BAILEY

ATHENS

ANDREAS PAPANDREOU was awakened at two o'clock in the morning in his home in Psychiko when a soldier put a rifle butt through a front window, climbed in, and opened the door to admit his captain and a squad of eight men. They quickly overpowered the Papandreou guard, but not before Andreas had climbed onto the roof. While Andreas's wife Margaret, a native American, swooned and screamed by turns, the soldiers ransacked the house, searching for Andreas and cajoling the four children, also native Americans and still American citizens, to divulge their father's hiding place. After a fruitless half hour, the captain drew his service pistol and put it at the head of Andreas's eldest son, the fourteen-year-old George. "Deliver yourself immediately or I will shoot your son!" shouted the captain. Within two minutes Andreas stood up from his perch on the roof, his hands in the air. When he jumped to the ground from the roof his foot hit and broke the light bulb over his front terrace, causing a slight flesh wound. This was virtually the only blood that flowed during the military coup that took less than two hours to eliminate the Greek Left on the morning of April 21.

THE PUTSCHISTS rounded up over five thousand persons in three categories—suspects, potentially dangerous, and known enemies—in those two hours (allowing themselves a one hundred per cent margin of error in the numerical estimate). Included were the leaders of all political parties except the Progressive Party leader, Spyros Markezines, who, with his suitcase packed and ready for prison, waited in vain and felt humiliated at his exclusion. When dawn came and the news was out and martial law declared, everyone waited for the countercoup, for a mounting wave of mass resistance, for rioting and the storming of strong points, for the raising of barricades and a general strike. Everyone waited with a growing sense of astonishment. Nothing happened. The country was as quiet and solemn as on a high church holiday.

"There has not been a whiff of a countercoup," said an official spokesman a full week later. The curfew from 12:30 AM to 5 AM was lifted on April 26. The same day a bare half dozen leaflets appeared in praise of democracy, but they were unsigned and unspecific. "In this situation," an American official had pronounced portentously, "a leaflet is just as explosive as a hand grenade!" If so, the leaflets were duds. It took the Greeks less than one day to get the message: on the roads into Athens on the first morning, instead of the voluble Athenian cops they found laconic soldiers with an upcountry accent. "They won't argue with you," a friend said to me. "Just one word and then they shoot you in the foot."

The extraordinary thing was the total lack of emotional reaction on the part of the public. Instead, there was a sense of sad relief—as if a battle had been lost that had long since become nonsensical. There was also an embarrassed sheepishness that Greece had taken such a turn. But there was almost universal agreement that the real turn had been taken in 1963.

The Bitter Memory

The Greek civil war from 1946 to 1949, which resulted first in British and then U.S. military and economic support under the Truman Doctrine formulated for this purpose, cost half a million Greek lives and some 100,000 abductions (many of them children) to the Communist countries in the Balkans and Eastern Europe. Despite amnesties and some repatriations there are still an estimated ninety thousand Greek citizens living in Communist countries. The Greeks remember the Communist atrocities as worse than the Nazi terror during the occupation.

The government of Constantine Karamanlis from 1955 to 1963 was the last one to take a hard line against the Communists and long refused to amnesty any substantial number of the thousands of them imprisoned since the civil war. The issue of amnesty was used by British Communists to stir up trouble in April, 1963, during the visit of Queen Frederika to London, where she narrowly escaped being manhandled. Karamanlis then implored King Paul to cancel a planned state visit to London in July. When the King refused, Karamanlis resigned and retired to Paris.

Within a few months after that, George Papandreou was voted into power in 1964 at the head of the Union of the Center Party. He was joined by his son Andreas, an American citizen and professor of economics at the University of California who had returned to Greece in charge of a recovery mission subsidized by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. The elder Papandreou made his son, still an American citizen, the alternate Minister of Coordination. George Papandreou started

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transferring key officers and rightist appointees from the Central Intelligence Service and the army high command to points as far removed as possible from the Athens area.

This move would have excited suspicion immediately had it not been for the formation—then in progress—of an army contingent for duty on Cyprus. The influx of rightist officers into Cyprus pleased General George Grivas, who is in charge of the army's Cyprus operation, but displeased Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus, who was looking to Cypriot Communists and the Soviet bloc for support. At the prompting of his son, the senior Papandreou then reversed his policy and began sending leftist officers to Cyprus—among them members of the small Aspida (Shield) organization, whose aim was the overthrow of the monarchy and the severing of Greece's military alliance with the West. This pleased Makarios but displeased Grivas, who subsequently exposed the Aspida conspiracy and implicated Andreas as its leader.

The administrative investigation that followed Grivas's exposé implicated twenty-eight officers, including the deputy chief of intelligence and the chief of intelligence on Cyprus. The young new king, Constantine II, interceded and demanded a full-scale judicial investigation: there were far too many coups in modern Greek history to warrant complacency in such a case. Papandreou refused to mount the investigation. When the King turned directly to the Minister of Defense and the investigation proceeded, Papandreou dismissed the minister, who thereupon refused to resign without a writ of dismissal signed by the King. The King in turn refused to sign until a replacement was named. To his astonishment Papandreou named himself. The King refused to accept this, pointing out that he could not allow Papandreou to preside over an investigation of a conspiracy in which his own son was implicated. Thereupon Papandreou announced that he would resign within twenty-four hours. Fearing that Papandreou would use the twenty-four hours to dissolve Parliament and call for new elections or set an Aspida military coup in motion, the King demanded that Papandreou resign then and there. When Papandreou refused, the King appointed a new Premier from the ranks of Papandreou's own party the same night.

George Papandreou reacted to his ouster by taking to the streets and attacking the King point-blank on the issue of monarchy versus republicanism. "Who rules Greece?" he asked. "The King or the people?" In the turmoil that ensued, just enough members of Papandreou's Center Union defected to allow the conservative National Radical Union to govern in coalition with the small Progressive Party and the Center Union defectors. Both Papandreous stumped the countryside demanding new elections while the state's investigatory apparatus slowly ground toward a trial of the men accused in the Aspida affair, an important aspect of which was the fact that Andreas Papandreou could not be tried because he enjoyed immunity as a member of Parliament. After fifteen precarious months the coalition government fell in December, 1966, when the conservatives refused to support a new electoral law providing for proportional representation, a system that would have favored the smaller and splinter parties. This was an attempt by the defecting segment of Papandreou's Center Union (representing twenty per cent of the party's original strength) to constitute itself as a separate party and whittle down the parent party still further. The attempt failed because it would have diminished the conservative National Union as well.

Changing the Election Rules

Greece has no electoral system that can be called permanent. The party in power sets the electoral procedure before each new election. If the elections had taken place with the electoral system that brought Papandreou to power, it would have meant the reconstitution of all the political parties that had been splintered.

One more caretaker government under Ioannis Paraskevopoulos was brought down on the issue of Andreas Papandreou's parliamentary immunity. In March of this year an Athenian court had found fifteen officers guilty of plotting against the state and the monarchy in the Aspida conspiracy trial. In accordance with the findings of the court, the public prosecutor prepared charges of high treason against Andreas Papandreou. The prosecutor made application to Parliament for the lifting of immunity of Andreas and another deputy. While this was being considered, George Papandreou's Center Union proposed an amendment to the election law to extend the legal immunity of members after the dissolution of Parliament. As it was, the immunity of members continued for only four weeks after dissolution. This would leave two weeks before elections during which members of Parliament were liable to arrest. The exception was that the public prosecutor would arrest Andreas Papandreou the moment his immunity expired and put him on trial before a summary court. If he was found guilty, "Handy Andy's" political career would be finished.

King Constantine then tried to arrange for the formation of a grand coalition between the National Radical Union and the Center Union to prepare the elections but was rebuffed by his long-confirmed enemy, George Papandreou. The King's subsequent appointment of Panayotis Kanellopoulos of the National Radical Union as Premier drove the two Papandreous to a new pitch of fury, the senior announcing that Constantine was no longer "King of Greece but King of the National Radical Union," and the junior advising the King publicly to choose a pleasant spot for his exile. When Kanellopoulos dissolved Parliament on April 14 and called for elections on May 28 without bothering to put the issue to vote, his action was almost universally accepted as the last storm signal. "For some

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weeks," a senior American official in Athens told me in the classic language of American diplomacy, "I have had the feeling that the options open were rapidly being narrowed down."

The options presumably left open on April 14 were listed thus: (1) no party would obtain a majority in the elections, thus forcing a coalition of the National Radical Union and the splinter parties; (2) victory of the Center Union Party, ushering in George Papandreou as Premier but effectively under the leadership of Andreas Papandreou; (3) a military coup.

In fact, the options were already narrowed down to one: Papandreou senior had already threatened revolution and his son had called for open revolt if the King did not name another nonpolitical caretaker government to prepare for the elections; with the treason charge hanging over Andreas's head and an arrest warrant in readiness, the operative date became May 12, which marked the expiration of parliamentary immunity. The prospects were nil that Andreas Papandreou would wait that long for the privilege of trying conclusions in custody, or that the conservative elements in the army and the state would wait still longer and leave the first move to the Papandreous or risk an electoral victory by the Papandreous only to intervene thereafter. There was bound to be some sort of military or at least paramilitary move (there was widespread rumor that sixty thousand rifles had been brought in and cached in the Athens area by the leftists). The only pertinent questions were who would execute the coup and when it would take place.

The second question was answered within the week; the answer to the first question took considerably longer to emerge. Allied intelligence claims to have spotted "four or five" developments within the army pointing toward the preparation of a military take-over.

King Constantine was informed of the coup at four o'clock in the morning by a "friend" (he was unable to find either his military or his political adjutant). He had no idea who the putschists were and what faction they represented. But his very ignorance on these points moved him to think that the coup was anti-monarchic. His first move therefore was to direct a plea to American Ambassador Phillips Talbot to call in the Sixth Fleet to save the monarchy.

The ambassador temporized; his advisers had told him they had a good idea who was behind the coup

and that they were not Communists. Besides, said Talbot, the coup was already a *fait accompli*. It had been executed brilliantly and any attempt to intervene at this point would mean a bloodbath. Also, if they should succeed in putting down the revolt in short order, might not this make matters worse, discrediting the army and playing into the hands of the Papandreous and the Left? Would it not be better to treat with the putschists, "to push, press, and prod," as one American spokesman put it, "so that as soon as possible representative government can be set up"?

The King proceeded to armed forces headquarters, called "the Pentagon" by the Greeks, and found his chiefs of staff in much the same position as he himself: they too had been presented with a *fait accompli*. While all professed unswerving loyalty to the King, they nevertheless urged him to accept the situation in order to avoid civil war in which the army would be divided against itself. There were discernible degrees of loyalty. The navy was apparently ready to follow the King unquestioningly, along with at least some units of the air force. But the army was the overwhelming power factor and the army was now entirely in the hands of the putschists.

'Who Are We?'

Toward noon of the same day martial law was declared, and the putschists delivered their first message to the public. It was a strange message.

"People of Greece:

"We have for long witnessed a crime which had been committed against our society and nation.

"The unhesitant and shameful party dealing, the misconduct of a great part of the press, the methodical assault against all institutions, their corrosion, the debasement of Parliament, the slandering of everything, the paralyzing of the State machinery, the complete lack of understanding for the burning problems of our youth, the ill-treatment of our students, the moral decline, the confusion and the blurring, the secret and open co-operation with subversives, and, finally, the continuous incendiary slogans of unscrupulous demagogues have destroyed the peace of the country, have created a climate of anarchy and of chaos, have cultivated conditions of hatred and division and have led us to the brink of national disaster. There was no other way of salvation left than the intervention of our Army. . . .

"Who are we? We do not belong to any political party and we are prepared to favor no political camp at the expense of the other. Nor do we belong to the economic oligarchy which, similarly, we are not prepared to let cause poverty. We belong to the class of toil. And we will stand by the side of our poor Greek brothers. We are driven exclusively by patriotic motives and we aim at abolishing the rule of political corruption. At rendering public life healthy. At removing from the country's organism the decomposition by which it was endangered. At averting the division and the killing of one another to which we had been directed by bad Greeks, and at creating healthy bases for the speedy return of the country to the truly orthodox Parliamentary life. We preach brotherhood. From this moment, there are no Rightists, Centrists, Leftists. There are only Greeks who believe in Greece, in a noble, superior, and full ideal of true democracy and not of the democracy of the street, of mob rule and of anarchy. When the Greeks are united, they work wonders. Certainly, there are also a few traitors, demagogues, unscrupulous opportunists, and professional an-

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archists. They have tried to divide us. And so they call us Leftists, Centrists, Center-Leftists, and Rightists."

Above all, the language was strange. It was the stylistic equivalent of the upcountry accent—old-fashioned, severe, almost quaint. In the government's policy program which followed on the same day (an odd mixture of army order and social tract), this was even more apparent:

"The mission of the government is:

"To apply the law. . . .

"To create the proper conditions for a return of the country to parliamentarianism on a healthy base, and to cleanse the state machinery."

Throughout, words like "cleansing" and "purification" kept recurring. There was heavy emphasis on "social justice": "This means a just distribution of the national income among all social classes." The aim was to create conditions in the villages "which would reverse the current of the movement of the population from the villages to cities," to put an end to the stripping of rural areas and the "hydrocephalism" of big cities (more than a quarter of the Greek population lives in the Athens area). There was emphasis on religion: "Assistance to the clergy so that it may respond to its heavy task under present circumstances," followed by "the cleansing, supplementation, and extension of social welfare and public utilities." But "the number one target of the government," reserved for special emphasis because of its "supreme importance," was the education of Greek youth, "devoted to national ideals as the golden hope of our nation."

All political parties were more or less equally guilty for Greece's plight, while the outsiders, the farm boys in uniform, burned with resentment.

"According to the intention of its protagonists," ran an editorial that appeared in the controlled press on Orthodox Easter, "the intervention of the army equates with a revolution. . . . The army has undertaken a surgical intervention on the body politic and the cut will be deep. . . . During the night of April 21 the old political parties were buried."

An indication of what the surgery was intended to remove was provided at the same time by the announcement that the United Democratic Left (EDA), a front party for Greek Communists, had been banned. For the rest, the transformation of Greek life was apparently to be brought about by re-emphasizing the Greekness of the Greeks, by purifying the ideal (this included a ban on miniskirts and Beatle haircuts: "See to it that young people are properly groomed and attend church regularly"), by imposing and enforcing the old saw that "youth and clean living will win out every time." But nobody was laughing.

The Corps Group

The "protagonists" of the Greek 21st of April emerged as a triumvirate of one brigadier general and two colonels, plus a council of nine. Patriots, puritans, and political naïfs, they are members of an organization known as IDEA—the Greeks have a penchant for initials that make words—which stands for the Sacred League of Greek Officers. It was founded in 1943 by General Zervas, the head of the right-wing

anti-fascist underground, in response to the Communist-engineered mutinies in the Greek Army and Navy. The IDEA organization is cenobitic, formed and informed with the unbroken Byzantine monastic community tradition. The cenobites are a religious order based on absolute obedience to the abbot of each cenobitic house who is responsible for the temporal as well as the spiritual well-being of the rural (usually mountain) community and whose special concern is the care and medical treatment of the poor. In fact, the cenobitic tradition is the earliest organized form of Christian socialism. IDEA is Christian socialism militant with a strong bucolic infusion: the farm boys in uniform are having their day.

In the military government Constantine Kollias, a Supreme Court prosecutor, was conscripted to serve as Premier; the first among equals of the triumvirate, Brigadier General Stylianos Patakos, became Minister of the Interior in the best coup tradition, while the reputed brains of the trio and probably the brains of the coup, Colonel George Papadopoulos, became Minister to the Premier's Office. The third leader, Artillery Colonel Nikolas Makarezos, took over the key Ministry of Coordination (created in 1950 on the recommendation of American authorities in the interest of a more efficient distribution of U.S. aid).

These officers and their followers are referred to by their allied colleagues as "the Corps Group" because their rank and maneuvering placed them at the corps command level, and in one case at least one echelon above. The Greek armed forces' command structure is peculiar in that it has an echelon of executive officers (one for each branch of service) between the chiefs of staff and the next lower echelon. The executive officer in charge of the army was thus in a position to coordinate the commands of the three corps areas without the knowledge of the chiefs of staff. At least two years ago the general staff had drawn up a plan for an army takeover in an emergency precipitated by Communists. It was carefully supplemented and extended by the Corps Group in preparation for their coup. In effect, the group used its position of maximum leverage in the army command structure to work a kind of judo trick and throw the entire organization into the line of its purpose. The coup of April 21 was a concatenation of successive *faits accomplis*, first within the army, then within the armed forces, and then within the entire apparatus of the state. When it became clear that the putschists had succeeded in bringing in not only the senior military officers but also the Bank of Greece, it was conceded that the first stage of the coup (control of the physical and the fiscal security) had been successfully completed.

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Like the chiefs of staff and the King, the governor of the Bank of Greece, Professor Xenophon Zolotas, really had no choice but to co-operate with the putschists. The Greek economy, particularly the country's financial situation, is so precarious that the quickest possible return to a more or less normal situation allowing a resumption of the all-important tourist trade was imperative. Four years of political turmoil have all but ruined the structure of the Greek economy. For the last year and a half, imports have been running close to four times the volume of exports. Last year, for the first time in Greek history, foreign short-term credits exceeded the country's official foreign-currency reserve. The budget for fiscal 1966 was presented to Parliament at the beginning of November, two months before the expiration of the fiscal period for which it was intended. "This lengthy delay," runs a U.S. State Department report, "was due to the delicate political situation and the resultant partial paralysis of the government's administrative machinery."

The Greek government last year had outstanding foreign obligations of over one billion dollars. A large part of this results from long-term loans which are now coming due. Projections for the economy for the next five years are particularly dismal. By the end of 1972, Greece's balance-of-payments deficit of over $260 million is expected to nearly double. The putschists' description of the economy as chaotic is hardly an exaggeration. New government investment during 1966 amounted to $240 million, or $17 million more than officially forecast last November. According to the same report, the bulk of this overdraft was made in December by the former Minister of Coordination "with the aim of ensuring the continuation and implementation of new projects approved during the second half of 1966." (It had been anticipated that the government might fall.) This "peculiar development" aggravated the already weak structure of the public investment budget, which will require at least $1.167 billion beginning this year and extending over the next several years. There is no prospect whatever of obtaining the necessary financing. As a result, a major revision of approved projects must be made if any new ones "of primary importance" are to be undertaken. The upshot is that the Greek government must set about recasting the country's entire economic structure beginning at the base.

King and Country

The IDEA coup was the reverse of the Aspida conspiracy. With no organized forces of their own to call on, not even united and disciplined trade unions, the Papandreous sought to get hold of the established order and turn it against itself. In a sense they succeeded. Their challenge provoked the Corps Group to mount a coup that swept everything away—with the all-important exception of the King. After physical-security measures had been taken on the first day, Colonel Papandopoulos met the King in "the Pentagon." "Your Majesty," he said, "my father served your father loyally; I acknowledge the same fealty and pledge the same loyalty to you." The repeated "admissions" by the Corps Group that it acted without the knowledge of the King are well taken: the sparing of the King and his continued presence, uncompromised by complicity in the coup even as a willing accessory after the fact, were essential to its immediate success and the long-term success of the operation as a whole. The integrity of the King made acceptance of the putsch by the Allies a foregone conclusion. The contingency plan that was adopted and adapted by the putschists to their own purpose had been part of NATO staff planning from the early days of the anti-Communist military alliance.

The allowance for the separate but complementary role of the King predetermined the nature of the coup, as well as the announcement in the policy program published on the day of the coup that the new government would undertake "to create the proper conditions for a return of the country to parliamentarianism." The same consideration will inevitably affect its future course. Through the King the Allies, particularly the United States, have already exerted considerable influence on the junta, being given repeated assurances that political prisoners would not be maltreated.

At 2:45 AM on April 27, the U.S. ambassador was visited by the Yugoslav and Italian ambassadors—the former representing the Soviet-bloc countries—with a request that he stay the hand of the junta from executing Manolis Glezos, a prominent Communist, who was rumored to have been condemned to death. The next day the junta presented Glezos to the press unharmed and uncondemned. Simultaneously the two Papandreous were separately presented to the press to demonstrate their fair treatment. On the same day it was announced that Andreas Papandreou had been summoned in preparation for his trial on charges of high treason. Ironically, friends of Andreas called on the ambassador the day of the putsch demanding that the Sixth Fleet be called in to put down the revolt. The ambassador was also visited by the parents of Andreas's American wife.

WHILE the interaction between the putschists, the King, and the Allies will probably moderate the severity of the puritan revolt, there can be no question that the early morning of April 21 signaled the definitive removal of the Papandreous from the Greek political scene. George Papandreou is a shocked and broken old man of seventy-nine (at the end of the month he was being given oxygen in his hospital prison). Andreas Papandreou will almost certainly be convicted as charged: the régime claims to have secured seventy truckloads of documents in its ransacking of Communist headquarters that are said to constitute incontrovertible evidence of an imminent Communist coup. If Andreas is very lucky, he may get away with deportation. From his self-imposed exile in Paris, former Premier Constantine Karamanlis, now the only Greek politician who commands respect, made a plea for leniency that seems addressed to the single-minded men who hold power. "Everything that has happened in Greece for the last three years," he said, "is so absurd that one can assume a state of mental derangement on the part of all concerned."

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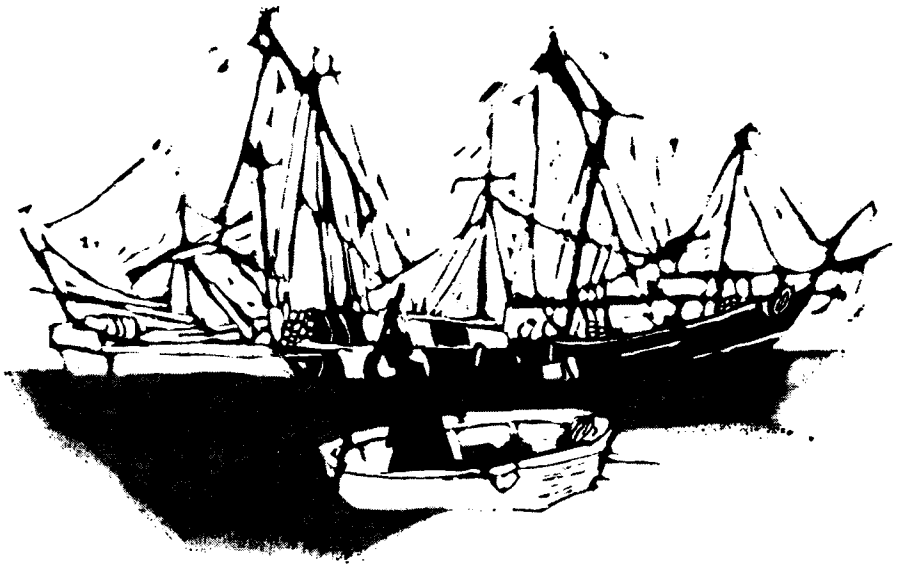

First Steps Toward An Asian Common Market

DENIS WARNER

SINGAPORE

"WARS, revolutions, and other traumatic events do leave their mark on the calendar; but their clarity is sometimes illusory, distorting the timing of the more profound changes they reflect," Special Assistant to the President Walt W. Rostow said at the University of Leeds on February 23. In the case of the Vietnam war, however, it is not so much the timing as the thinking that has become distorted. For Western Europeans preoccupied with Common Market affluences and aspirations, and even among many Americans bewildered by moral doubts and political obfuscation, distance has lent disenchantment to the entire Vietnam view. Yet, while it is still too early to assume, as Rostow does, that the struggle in Vietnam may be the last great confrontation of the postwar era, the war, or, more correctly, the denial of Communist goals by American power, has set in motion regional processes which, if a good deal less profound than an end to aggression for all time, are still both interesting and potentially significant.

Out of its own hard experience, Southeast Asia has always been more conscious than the rest of the world of the realities of the Vietnam war. "There is a widely held misconception about the nature and appeals of Communism in backward countries," wrote Dr. Goh Keng Swee, Singapore's Defense Minister, in a recent review of Communist methods and goals in Southeast Asia. "Communist appeal and Communist strength are sometimes believed to be the result of poverty, oppressive domestic government, or frustrated nationalism. This pays the Communist movement an undeserved compliment. . . . The Communist Party in any country has only one purpose—the revolutionary seizure of state power."

That, as Southeast Asia sees it, is the essence of the Vietnam war. And to people who for the past twenty years have fought against repeated Communist insurrections, that is an adequate reason why the U.S. stand should be supported and not deplored. Along with this appreciation of the facts of survival, there is also an awareness that the external props and stays on which Southeast Asia has so far relied to deter Communist expansion, including the American presence in Vietnam and the British presence east of Suez, are finite. If things were still going wrong in Vietnam, this could not be other than a cause for dismay among people who have hitherto been glad to leave to westerners such notions as Asian solutions for Asian problems. But this is not the impression at all.

The Rewards of Hanging Together

"Are you people really serious in Vietnam?" Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's acerbic and sometimes seemingly anti-American Prime Minister, asked a senior Washington official. "If you are, we are with you." The conviction now that the United States is serious—and this persists despite the sound and fury of the far-off debate—has helped to stimulate an interest in regional self-help and co-operation that even the most optimistic observer could scarcely have hoped for when the Communist capture of state power in Vietnam and Indonesia seemed imminent and Communism the wave of the future throughout the area.

Just as the fall of the "impregnable bastion" of Singapore in 1942 sparked the area's nationalist revolt against colonialism, a revolt that persisted and grew in intensity with the removal of Japanese influence from the scene, the U.S. stand in Vietnam has both stimulated interest in and opened up the prospect of much closer relationships between the free Asian states. Despite Lee Kuan Yew's phraseology, this does not involve being "with" the United States. The U.S. role is widely—and wisely—regarded as primarily catalytic. Instead of fretting about how to live with Communism, the Southeast Asians have now become concerned about finding a way to live with each other, conscious as never before that by hanging together they will avoid the danger of being hanged separately.

As Rostow remarked in his Leeds address, Asia generally offers a less promising initial base for regional co-operation than most other parts of the world. Southeast Asia's kaleidoscopic diversity is an anthropological treasure house and a statesman's nightmare. Even moving from village to village, not to mention from country to country, the differences in cultural and racial backgrounds are everywhere apparent.

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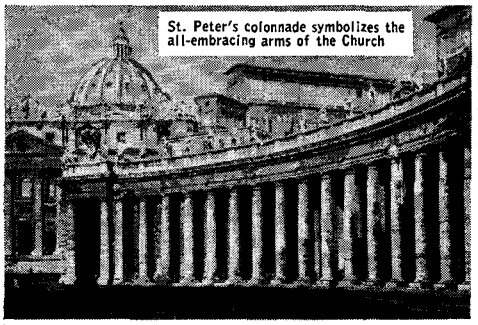
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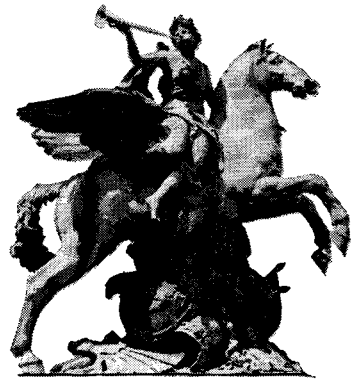
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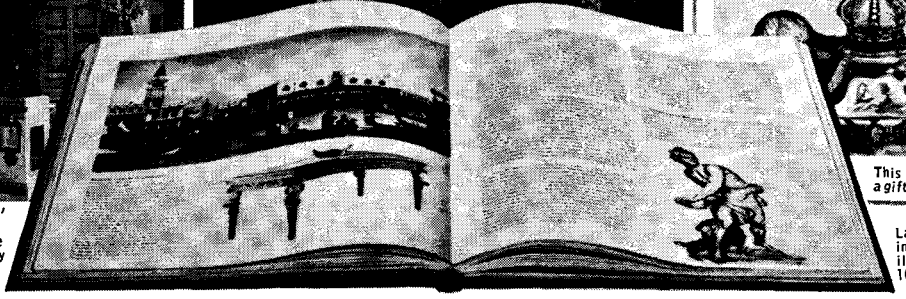
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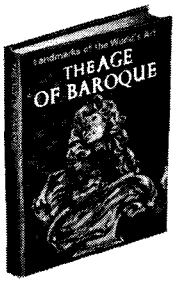

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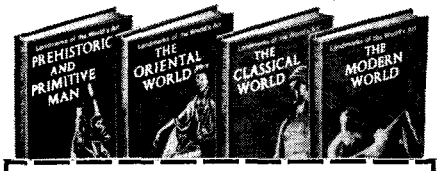

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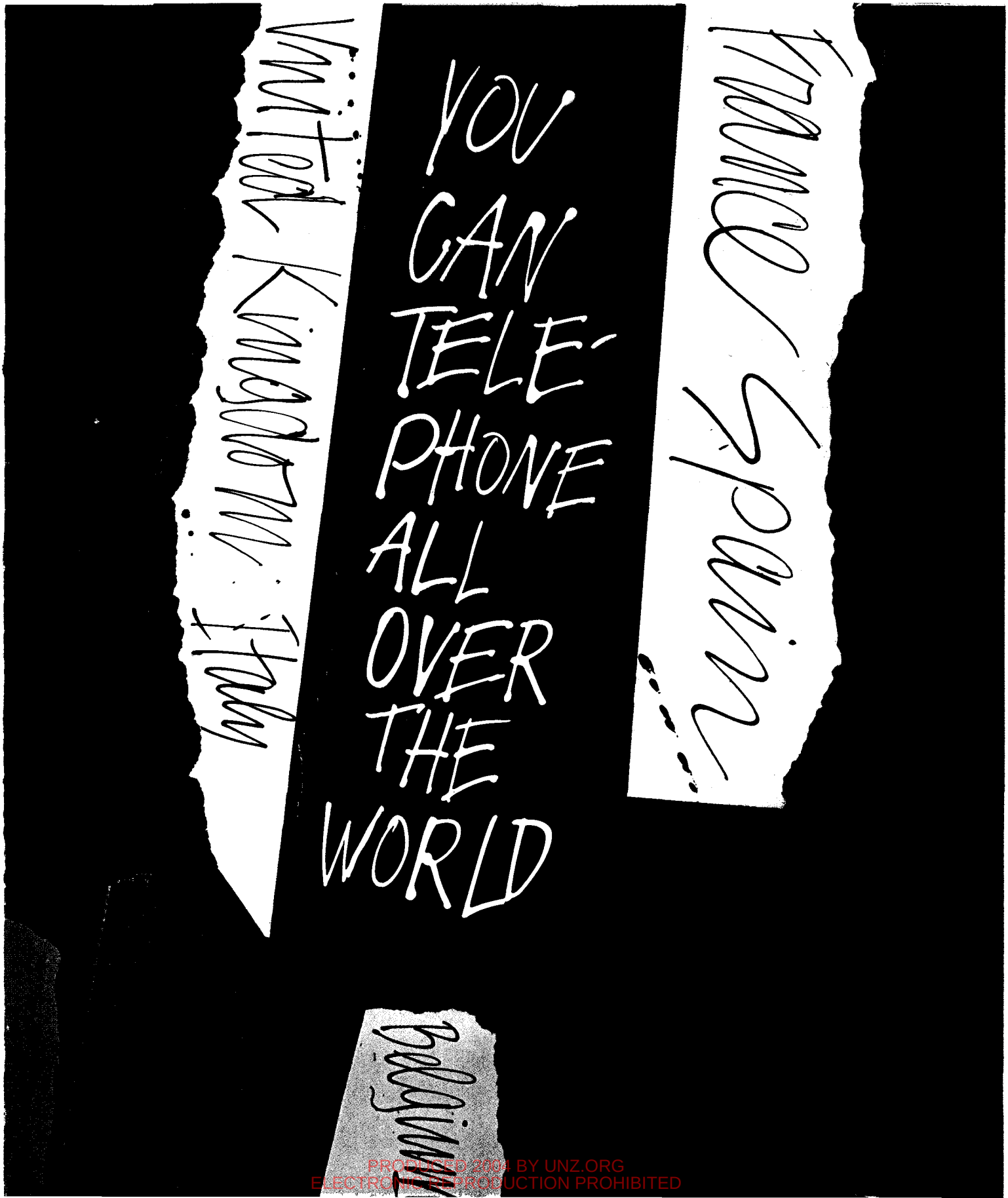

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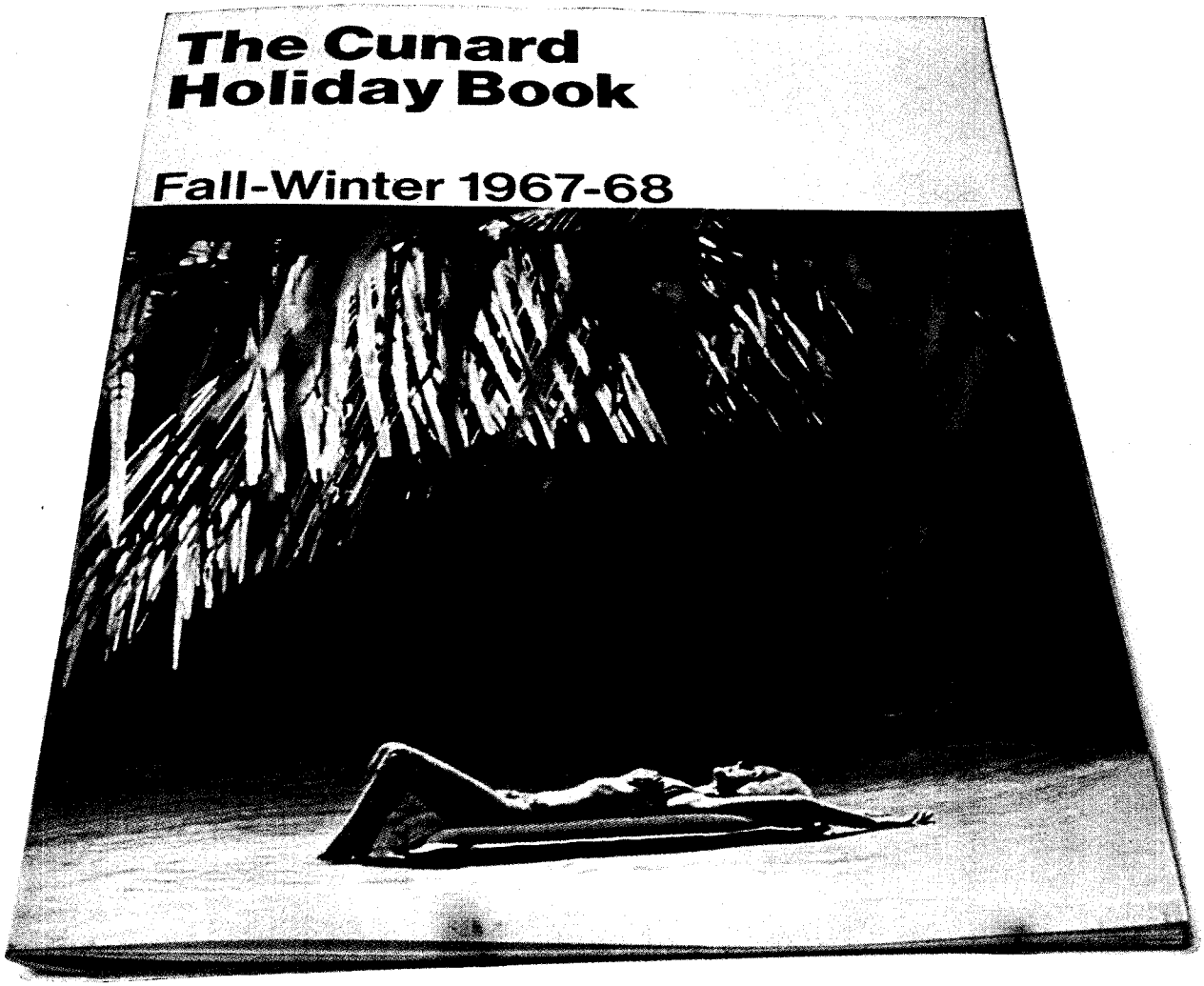

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Good Water from Bad: A Report from General Dynamics

When is a water shortage not a water shortage?

Most of the time.

Except for the relatively small areas of the earth covered with desert, water supplies in lakes, rivers, and underground tables would be more than ample for the world's population—if it were all fit to drink.

In many cases it is too brackish; its heavy concentration of dissolved salts makes it either dangerous or just plain bad tasting. "Salts" are not just common table salt (sodium chloride); a dissolved salt, by definition, is a solid substance that is soluble in water.

Hundreds of thousands of families already use double water systems. Available water from the tap is used for general cleaning. For drinking and cooking, they buy bottled water.

Conventional treatment systems can remove most of the solids, such as those that come, say, from the wastes and sewage that pollute so many of the nation's rivers. But to get rid of the dissolved salts—to desalinate—subtler techniques are required. One is reverse osmosis.

Osmosis, forward and reverse:

Since 1962, General Dynamics has used reverse osmosis to desalinate water, mainly under contract to the Office of Saline Water of the Department of the Interior.

Osmosis is a phenomenon that occurs naturally whenever a dilute liquid (such as fresh water) and a concentrated liquid (such as salt water) are separated only by a semipermeable material—that is, one which selectively permits one kind of molecule to pass through it, but not another kind.

Under ordinary conditions, fresh "pure" water would diffuse through such a membrane material into an adjacent "impure" saline solution.

But apply pressure to the "impure" water and reverse osmosis takes place; the flow through the membrane goes the opposite way.

Water molecules from the salty solution are forced through the membrane into the fresh water. The "selective" permeability of the material acts as an effective barrier to the passage of salt molecules.

Below: water flow from 10,000 gallons-per-day reverse osmosis unit is checked by General Dynamics engineers before unit is shipped.

The mysterious membrane:

The heart of the process is a membrane only five thousandths of an inch thick. This membrane is basically made of cellulose acetate in a transparent film form resembling household plastic wrap.

It had been known for some time that fresh water passed readily through certain of these membranes, but dissolved salts and other impurities did not. Nobody knew quite why. An assumption was that the membrane was a very fine mechanical filter—water molecules were small enough to seep through the holes in the film, but salt molecules were too large.

General Dynamics' scientists found that the cellulose acetate membrane, thin though it is, has two different layers.

A spongy porous material that accounts for 99.8 percent of the membrane's thickness is mainly supportive, and lets both water and dissolved salts through.

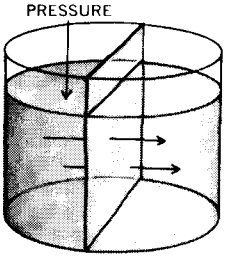
The actual stopper was the second layer, only ten-millionths of an inch thick. This thin second layer is nonporous. Its action is molecular and chemical rather than physical. It *absorbs* water molecules—absorbs them more readily than the salt molecules, allowing the absorbed water molecules to move through the membrane easily and to reappear on the "pure" low pressure side. Less than five percent of the salt molecules get through.

The same process that keeps out dissolved salts also holds back other waste matter, even bacteria, and—some researchers suspect—viruses.

General Dynamics reverse osmosis units are built up of modules which can contain up to 300 square feet of membrane per cubic foot.

Reverse osmosis units are already being built in a variety of sizes. A single small module can satisfy a family's daily drinking water needs. By linking enough modules, larger units process thousands of gallons a day. And still bigger combinations will be able to process hundreds of thousands—or even millions—of gallons of water daily.

Some conventional forms of desalination require large installations and large heat sources to make steam for an essentially distillation process. Reverse osmosis plants can be compact because the water remains in its original liquid state throughout the process.



The Phenomenon of Reverse Osmosis

Normally, water from a dilute solution will flow through a semipermeable membrane towards a concentrated solution. Reverse osmosis takes place when pressure is applied to the concentrated solution and forces water in the opposite direction. **1.** Salt molecules (marked "S") have little chemical affinity with membrane molecules. They tend to be rejected, in spite of the applied pressure, by the membrane barrier. **2.** Water molecules mingle intimately with membrane molecules in the ultra-thin layer of the membrane—the "diffusion region." This union and diffusion is molecular: it is not a physical filtering of water. **3.** When the water molecules pass through the ultra-thin diffusion layer into the porous supportive layer of the membrane, they liquefy and become water again. **4.** Pure water droplets continue to seep through the membrane and emerge on the low pressure side.

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Ordinary electric power operates a pressure pump. Simplicity of design permits a system to operate virtually unattended for long periods between maintenance checks.

From rivers and mines:

The General Dynamics units have been test-operated under a variety of local water conditions: on rivers where the water was polluted both with industrial wastes and concentrations of salts from ocean tides, and in industrial applications such as coal mines.

The drainage of acid water from mines presents a major pollution problem. Sulphuric acid in the mine water dissolves minerals containing iron, calcium, and magnesium, creating a whole complex of salts that become a hazard to fish, wildlife, and municipal water supplies. The reverse osmosis experiments held back most of the heavy concentrations of dissolved salts from the mine water and produced high quality fresh water.

In factory use, reverse osmosis units in combination with conventional filters (to eliminate gross physical particles), could clean used factory waste water before it re-enters rivers, with some portion of the freshly processed clean water recirculated for reuse by the factory.

Reverse reverse:

Reverse osmosis has another potentially valuable and almost opposite use: water *extraction*.

For example, water is traditionally boiled out of maple sap to make maple syrup. This is an expensive and time-consuming process. Pilot tests by the Department of Agriculture indicate that a reverse osmosis unit can achieve the same result. In this case, the useful product is what is left after the water is removed.

Theoretically, the extraction principle can be applied to many products, including chemicals and pharmaceuticals, that now require elaborate processing to be concentrated or made water-free. Research is creating a "family" of membranes for a variety of specific jobs.

Certainly fresh water produced by reverse osmosis, or any desalination process, is more expensive than water from local natural sources. Yet in many areas where good water is a scarce and expensive resource, the reverse osmosis process may already be economic.

General Dynamics is a company of scientists, engineers and skilled workers whose interests cover every major field of technology, and who produce: aircraft; marine, space and missile systems; tactical support equipment; nuclear, electronic, and communications systems; machinery; building supplies; coal, gases.

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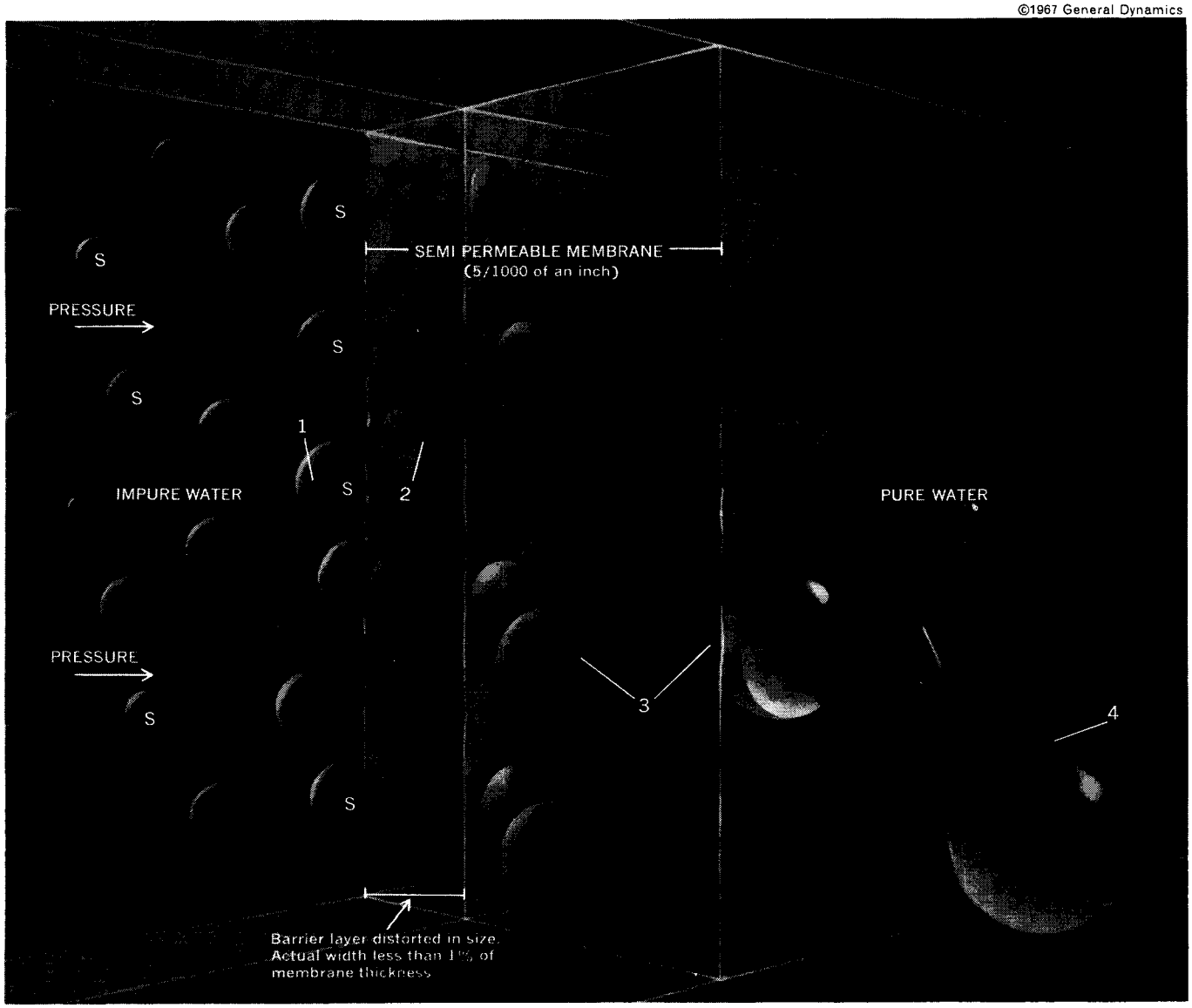

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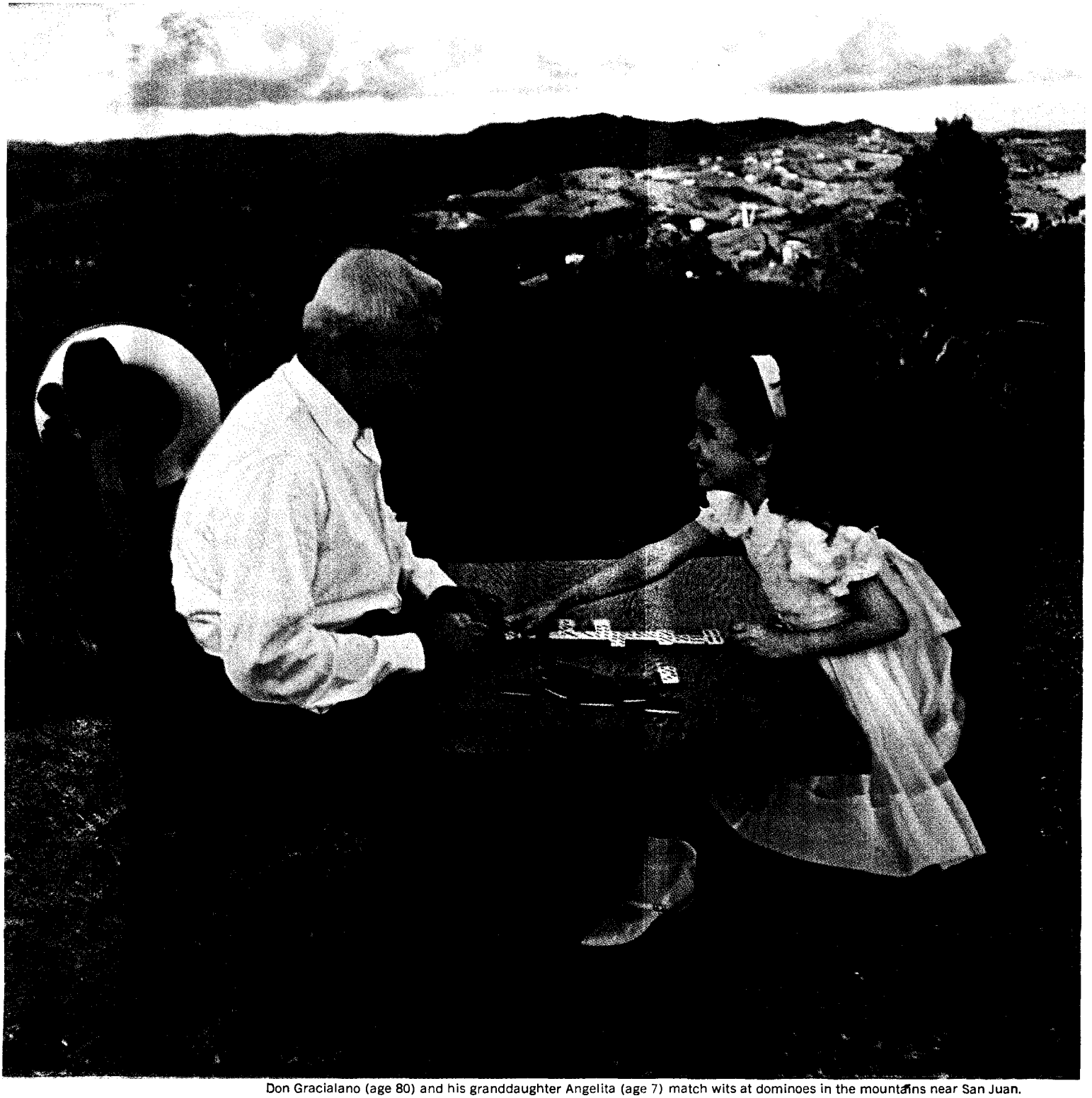

Don Gracialano (age 80) and his granddaughter Angelita (age 7) match wits at dominoes in the mountains near San Juan.

Angelita's smile: testimonial to the new Puerto Rico

Her name means "little angel" in English. Her smile means contentment in any language.

Angelita knows none of the wasting diseases that haunt the faces of children in other lands. Yet just two decades ago, when Puerto Rico launched its self-help "Operation Bootstrap," life expectancy on the Island was barely *two* score years and ten.

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Arabs, who had learned the secrets of the monsoon winds, traveled to Southeast Asia in their dhows, bringing with them trade goods and later the Muslim religion. The Indians contributed Hinduism and Theravada Buddhism. The Chinese came to trade, to work as laborers, and eventually to control most of the region's commerce; the Europeans to colonize and proselytize. These repeated invasions had a marked effect on ways of life. But they did not change the essentially tribal character of Southeast Asian society, or put an end to the fundamental fears and hostilities that for centuries have divided its peoples.

IT IS TRUE, of course, that a few farsighted leaders, conscious of the dangers in the fragmentation of Southeast Asia, have for years espoused the cause of regional and multiracial co-operation. Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Malaysian Prime Minister and a Malay, set a personal example years ago by adopting a Chinese child. His tolerance has been a major factor in preserving the fragile Malay-Chinese alliance within his country on which its future depends, and he has always been anxious to break down the wider barriers that divide the Southeast Asian society.

As early as 1959, on a visit to the Philippines, he advocated the creation of a Southeast Asian Friendship and Economic Treaty, with the aim of promoting economic co-operation, trade within the area, the development of intraregional communications, the facilitation of scientific research, the exchange of information, and the organization of interregional technical assistance. He wanted to develop a Southeast Asian consciousness, to promote a solidarity that would make the area less vulnerable to aggression and subversion, and to provide a general framework for discussion and co-operation.

Manila's favorable reaction to his ideas encouraged him to submit them to half a dozen other countries in the region. This time, however, the response was discouraging. Apart from the Philippines and later a reluctant Thailand, no other country was willing to co-operate. Undeterred, he tried again with an amended plan that substituted for the single formal treaty a series of bilateral treaties covering regional aviation, shipping, customs, industrial planning, marketing, and price-support plans for commodities, foreign investment, tourism, tariffs, and educational, professional, technical, and administrative training.

Once again, the Tengku was far ahead of the times. Japan and India found the propositions impracticable and suggested modifications that would have nullified the scheme. The Burmese, sensitive to the Chinese presence over the border, were cool. The Indonesians were not interested. Others saw little in the proposals that the Colombo Plan and the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East did not already provide. Nevertheless, the Tengku pushed ahead with the two countries willing to co-operate, and in July, 1961, the Association of Southeast Asia was born at a ministerial meeting in Bangkok, with Malaya, Thailand, and the Philippines as founder members. Despite its limited membership and the measure of doubt with which these three strongly pro-western states were regarded by their neighbors, ASA made an early, if modest, contribution to the concept of regional co-operation. At their second ministerial meeting early in 1962, the three countries agreed to establish an ASA fund to finance various projects, to conclude a multilateral agreement on trade and navigation, to abolish visa requirements for officials, to act jointly to promote tourism, to establish a special press-telegram rate, to improve Thai-Malayan rail and telecommunications links, and to set in motion the exchange of experts, scholars, and research fellows.

Regional rivalries based on ancient claims quickly sabotaged the association. The creation of Malaysia, which was immediately "confronted" by Indonesia, and the discovery in Manila of an old claim to Sabah, or North Borneo, which had now ceased to be a British colony and become part of Malaysia, wrecked relations between the Philippines and Malaysia and apparently consigned ASA to permanent cold storage. Maphilindo, a confederal alliance proposed in 1963 between Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia and ostensibly designed to bring together all elements of the Malay race in Southeast Asia, was also crushed by Indonesia's confrontation of Malaysia and was opposed by non-Malays of the region, especially the Chinese of Singapore.

From Korea to New Zealand

A broader, more solidly grounded interest in regional co-operation came to life in 1965 when it became clear that the United States really was ready to go all out to save South Vietnam from a Communist take-over and when a Communist-backed coup in Indonesia was thwarted by General Suharto. Today, in every capital, including Djakarta, officials are anxious to talk about regional co-operation in terms that would have been regarded by most Asians as almost ludicrous only a decade ago.

A typical initiative came last June from Tun Ismail, then Malaysia's acting Minister of External Affairs, and, like the Tengku, an ardent believer in regional co-operation. He proposed a community of Asian states to pursue common development. It was important, he said, that the organization be based on principles of economic, social, and cultural co-operation, not on military alliances. "Nations and peoples of Southeast Asia of whatever ethnic, cultural, or religious background must pull together and create a new perspective and a new framework," he said. "And we must do it ourselves." The revival of the Association of Southeast Asia, he suggested, was the initial step.

While ASA had been in suspension, however, other plans for stimulating regional co-operation had been taking shape. At the northeastern end of the Pacific, the once inward-looking Koreans were settling their long and bitter differences with Japan and were also engaged in much more ambitious plans to bring the Pacific and Asian nations together. Last June their efforts bore fruit and the Foreign Ministers of Australia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, and South Vietnam, with Laos as an observer, met in Seoul to form the Asian and Pacific Council. A second meeting

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of ministers will be held in Bangkok later this year to consider setting up economic co-operation and technical co-ordination centers and a mutual information service.

On complementary lines, the Japanese last year took the initiative by convening conferences in Tokyo on Asian economic and agricultural development. Japan is also a major contributor of funds (along with the United States) to the newly created Asian Development Bank, which has just begun operations under the presidency of Takeshi Watanabe and with an initial capital of $1 billion. Both on the government-to-government level and at a high industrial level, Japan and Australia have been working ever more closely on bilateral and multilateral plans for regional co-operation. In April, 1966, the Australian-Japanese Business Cooperation Committee agreed in Canberra to work for the establishment of a Pacific Basin plan for economic development and co-operation. The relaxation of Australia's racially exclusive immigration policy, announced soon after Harold Holt became Prime Minister at the beginning of 1966, was in preparation for the day when joint Australian-Japanese enterprises would require the presence of Japanese in Australia for protracted periods. And Holt himself during his brief period in office has traveled more widely in the East Asian countries than all of his predecessors.

Bargains in Aid

When all the pieces are put together, what emerges is the idea of an Asian Common Market. "There is need for an Asian Common Market to co-ordinate industrial planning," Sohei Nakayama, president of the Industrial Bank of Japan, said last year. "Japanese economic co-operation for the region can play an important role."

In Manila, in Bangkok, in Singapore, in Kuala Lumpur, and now in Djakarta, where the Suharto régime has replaced the revolutionary romanticism of the Sukarno era with realistic plans for economic recovery, the common-market idea is approved of in principle, though everywhere there remain many important reservations. As the industrial giant of the Asian area, Japan clearly must be at the center of any common market. But neither the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere nor Japanese wartime behavior in Southeast Asia has been fully forgotten or forgiven. "The whole idea of Southeast Asia co-operating with Japan in this way is absurd," I was told by one Southeast Asian who has held top Foreign Office posts in his country since the end of the Second World War. "It will be another twenty years at least before Japan will be fully accepted in Southeast Asia." The Japanese appear to be well aware of these reservations, and intensive efforts have been made in the past year or two to improve Japan's image in the region. In addition to paying substantial reparations, Japan is providing substantial credits to Southeast Asia. It plans to increase its aid program before 1970 to about one per cent of its gross national product, or around $700 million, much to be earmarked for the region.

Here again the government and people of Japan have a history and reputation to live down and the Southeast Asians are wary. Asked in Tokyo recently about additional Japanese aid for Southeast Asia, Lee Kuan Yew replied that he hoped it would be as profitable for the Southeast Asians as he was sure it would be for the Japanese. His reply brought polite smiles but no one missed the barb.

At a time when the Sukarno-Subandrio régime was desperate to stave off the appearance of bankruptcy, Japan had no scruples in trying to pick up bargains. For an additional credit of $100 million it all but succeeded in buying monopoly rights to Indonesia's domestic and international maritime trade. The deal fell through only when the senior Indonesian official sent to Tokyo to negotiate refused to accept Djakarta's instructions and called off the discussions. Again, when Indonesia's economic collapse finally became apparent at the beginning of 1966 and the Japanese government withdrew its insurance from exporters, large quantities of goods earmarked for Indonesia remained in the warehouses. When Japanese credits were again made available for Indonesian imports from Japan, a condition of the new credits was that Indonesia's purchases should include a substantial proportion of the stored goods, though many were luxury items for which the new régime in Djakarta had no use.

AGAINST this sort of background, it will take both time and diplomacy to create the climate of confidence necessary for the disparate states and peoples of the region to accept the tariff cuts implicit in any common-market arrangement. In talking with officials in half a dozen capitals, I was left with the feeling that their public utterances reflected more their hope of what ought to be and perhaps too little of the immediate reality.

Even the much smaller and less ambitious regional groupings such as ASA are still finding the going slow. Although Indonesia has recently expressed an interest in joining ASA, the Tengku's quiet efforts to broaden the membership of the association have not been fruitful.

On broader common-market prospects, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* on January 12 observed: "When it comes to the nuts and bolts of negotiating tariff cuts and taking the plunge into the unknown waters of regional economic mobility, there is little ground for optimism. One thing, however, is clear. If the worst comes to the worst and the world divides into vertical trading blocs (Africa appended to Europe, Latin America to the United States), there will be friendly voices in Tokyo and Canberra to speak up for Southeast Asia's preferential relationship to whatever free trading group can be salvaged in the Pacific area."

The prospects seem to lie somewhere between the optimism of the idealists and the pessimism of the realists. To anyone who has watched the upheavals of the region since the Second World War, it is less than remarkable that the Asian states are not marrying in haste to repent at leisure. For the time being, the simple fact that so many men of good will in so many countries believe that the present environment lends itself to the search for common solutions to common problems is in itself a reflection of real achievement.

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Japan's New Bid For Leadership

JERROLD L. SCHECTER

A NEW WAVE of Japanese is sweeping across Southeast Asia. The old forces of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere have given way to Japan's white-shirted businessmen bringing credits and technical skill. Still highly sensitive to Asian suspicions of their long-range intentions, the Japanese take great pains to maintain what they call a "low posture" in their relations with other Asian nations. As Premier Eisaku Sato summed up the Japanese position recently: "In the past, the economic progress we are achieving would have been branded as economic aggression, but now we are moving in a positive direction. My feeling is that we are regarded with less concern and alarm than we were in the past."

The new Japanese economic thrust into Southeast Asia can be dated from the ratification of the peace treaty with Korea in December, 1965. For fourteen years, Japan and Korea argued acrimoniously over the terms by which Japan would renounce its forty years of colonial rule and repay its debt to Korea. Until the settlement, Japan was in no position to take any other initiatives in Asia. But once the treaty was signed and the first of $800 million in reparations grants and credits were dispatched to Korea, the Japanese moved forth to rebuild relations with other Asian states. The Korean settlement was accepted throughout the area as a sign of Japanese good faith and smart politics.

ALL LAST YEAR the Japanese spent laying what Premier Sato has called the "foundation stone" for a new Japanese commitment to Southeast Asia. They began by calling an Asian economic ministerial meeting in Tokyo in April, 1966, the largest all-Asian conference since 1943, the year that General Hideki Tojo summoned vassal Asian leaders to outline Japan's original Co-Prosperity Sphere. This time the ministers came willingly from six nations—Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Laos, and South Vietnam—while Cambodia and Indonesia sent observers. The meeting outlined the needs for economic development in Asia and emphasized the importance of agriculture. In April the ministers met again in Manila and presented detailed plans for agricultural development in their own nations. The fact that the average yield of 2.3 tons of rice per hectare (2.47 acres) in Southeast Asia today is what the Japanese were producing in 1880, compared with the current Japanese yield of about five tons, suggests that the Japanese have as much to offer Asia in the critical area of agricultural productivity as in the area of credits.

Along with promises of aid and loans to Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore last year, the Japanese also played a leading role in fostering the Asian Development Bank, capitalized at $1 billion. Takeshi Watanabe, a former adviser to the Japanese Finance Ministry and a World Bank official, has been elected the first president of the bank, which had its inaugural meeting in Tokyo last November. Japan contributed $200 million, as much as the United States, and this year is expected to contribute an additional $100 million to the bank's special Agricultural Development Fund. The bank will have permanent headquarters in Manila.

The Japanese also took the initiative in organizing the refinancing of Indonesia's debt to the non-Communist world, and last July it extended a $30-million emergency loan to Indonesia for commodity imports. The meetings of Indonesia's creditor nations have become known as the Tokyo Club since the first meeting was held in Japan last September.

The Japanese role in the formation of the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) in Seoul last June also proved crucial. The eight other ASPAC members—Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Taiwan, South Vietnam, South Korea, Australia, and New Zealand—sought Japan's endorsement for this new venture in regional co-operation. But while the South Koreans and Chinese Nationalists tried to place ASPAC solidly behind the Vietnam war, the Japanese held back. Instead Japan sought to develop the new body along lines that would permit a broader Asian membership including such nonaligned nations as Burma and Indonesia as well as those which oppose the U.S. position in Vietnam, such as India and Cambodia. The Japanese have privately warned the other ASPAC members that they will not participate in this year's Bangkok meeting of ASPAC if the Vietnam war becomes a key issue.

Constructive Nonalignment

Japan, in short, is trying to work toward a policy that a high-placed Foreign Office man describes as "independent nonalignment in Asia." But its ties to the United States through the Mutual Cooperation and Security Treaty make such a role difficult to achieve. Furthermore, Japan benefits economically from the war in Vietnam, not only through U.S. military procurements for Vietnam, about $450 million last year, but also from indirect sales resulting from the war, estimated at more than $1 billion.

The Sato government accordingly treads a thin line. The Japanese public strongly opposes the American bombing of North Vietnam, and the left-wing opposition, although weakened by internecine struggles, still uses the Vietnam war as a popular rallying cry. In parliamentary questioning by the Socialist and Communist opposition, Premier Sato, reinforced by his Liberal-Democratic Party's election victory last January, has stood behind the American position in Vietnam, but his government is far from taking any initiatives to aid South Vietnam. His position is understood and accepted in Washington.

Though the Japanese talk about the return of Okinawa, the conservative politicians and businessmen

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realize that the storage of U.S. nuclear warheads there and U.S. control of the Ryukyus remains a key to the American defense position in the Pacific. The Japanese government is not likely to press the issue, for if nuclear warheads are removed and the Security Treaty is abandoned, Japan would have to face the expensive and controversial problem of creating its own defense.

Japan's adherence to the principle of nonalignment has its advantages for the United States. It has created a new relationship between America and Japan based on a division of labor. Apart from playing a bigger role in Asian economic development, the Japanese are showing a readiness to move into sensitive political situations that would prove difficult or impossible at this time for the United States to deal with. The Japanese emergency loan of $30 million to Indonesia last year came at a time when Congress would probably have balked at further cash grants to the bankrupt nation. And there is now a good possibility that the Japanese will undertake on their own the financing of the Prek Thnot multipurpose Mekong River Dam in Cambodia, the first Mekong River development project for Cambodia, for which the United States was expected to put up a major share of the $33-million cost. Regulations imposed by Congress now prohibit grants to countries that have contributed aid to North Vietnam, and Cambodia has pretty clearly placed itself in this category.

THE STRUGGLE for power in China has postponed any immediate challenge to Japan from the mainland. This has allowed Premier Sato to continue a China policy he describes as "nonintervention in internal affairs on a reciprocal basis and the separation of economic and political matters." While the Japanese do not discount the long-term potential of Communist China, they see themselves in the meantime far outstripping the Chinese economically while remaining snug and smug under the U.S. nuclear shield. Within five years, the Japanese, now fifth in gross national product, are expected to rank third, behind only the United States and the Soviet Union. Premier Sato has been promising the Japanese people that their some $700 per capita income will be doubled in ten years and that in twenty years it will be $2,500, close to the present U. S. level.

"On a short-term basis," Sato said, "it would be unrealistic to expect further development in our relations with Peking. For the time being there is no other way than watching the development of the situation on the mainland." In 1966, trade with Red China rose to $621 million; Japan was China's biggest trading partner. At the same time, the Japanese continued their substantial trade with Taiwan, amounting to $402 million. The Sato government has also granted $150 million in yen credits to Taiwan and maintains its support for Taiwan's "important

question," the resolution on the seating of Communist China in the United Nations.

Events in China have eased internal left-wing pressure on the Sato government for further accommodation with the mainland, including recognition of the Peking government. Last year 3,844 Japanese tourists visited Communist China, and many of them, the intellectuals in particular, did not like what they saw. They returned home disillusioned and shocked by the violence and dogmatism of the Red Guards. But while Japanese public opinion in general has swung away from sympathy with the new revolution on the mainland, a small but influential minority of the Japanese business community believes that China is still a major key to Japan's future in Asia. One of the leading proponents of increased Japanese trade with Communist China is Kaheita Okazaki, president of All Nippon Airways and chairman of the Japan-China Overall Trade Liaison Council. Many follow him in his view that the Cultural Revolution, in destroying the "four olds"—old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits—is "washing off dirt which has accumulated in China for over four thousand years."

The Nuclear Potential

The fifth Chinese nuclear test last December has also quietly contributed to a shift in Japanese attitudes. No longer is left-wing opposition to the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty so strident as it was a year ago. The Sato government has accordingly grown more confident in discussing security matters. During his election campaign speeches in January, Premier Sato referred to Japan's reliance on the U.S. nuclear shield and American military bases in Japan by saying: "When you want an insurance policy you have to pay the premium."

Contrary to a widespread impression in Japan, the Mutual Security Treaty does not end in 1970, nor must it be renewed; it remains in force until cancellation by either country with one year's notice. The best guess today is that both Japan and the United States will allow it to remain in force after 1970 without pushing for a specific term of renewal. Thus the left-wing Socialists, Communists, and trade unionists would be deprived of the issue as a challenge to the conservatives and treaty-renewal riots such as those of 1960 might be avoided.

Consecutive Japanese governments have interpreted the famous Article Nine of Japan's "peace constitution" to mean that Japan cannot rearm or produce nuclear weapons. Premier Sato has also said that the constitution cannot be interpreted to cover the dispatch of Japanese Self-Defense Force contingents overseas even for peace-keeping duty with the United Nations. Thus Japan's defense establishment remains incongruous in view of its industrial and technological potential and its ambitions for leadership in the Far East. The country spends only 1.3 per cent of its gross national product on defense. The ground forces, for example, total only 171,500.

To be sure, Japanese technology

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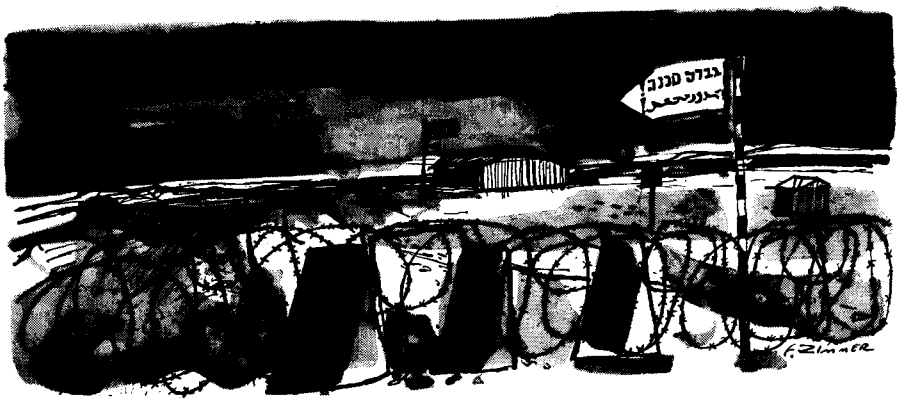
has kept pace with nuclear and missile development elsewhere, to the point that American defense experts estimate that Japan could produce a nuclear device within two years at the maximum. A more than adequate delivery system could also be made quickly available. The modest Japanese rocket program, designed for scientific space probes and satellite orbiting, will this year have a rocket with intercontinental ballistic missile range. The Japanese Lamda series rockets, say American defense experts, are the equivalent of intermediate-range ballistic missiles, and the new Muh series to be tested late this year is roughly the equivalent of the American Minuteman. The Japanese rockets have solid fuel and are believed to be far superior to anything the Chinese Communists have tested. While the Japanese guidance systems are not as sophisticated or consistently accurate as the more expensive American systems, Japanese technology is capable of refining current models within two years if funds are supplied on a crash-program basis.

ONE of Japan's outstanding military-strategy specialists, Kiichi Saeki of the Nomura Research Institute, has said: "Economically and technologically we are capable of producing nuclear weapons, but politically and psychologically Japan is not prepared for such a move." Before the psychological trauma of their defeat in the Second World War and the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is erased, a new generation will have to come of age. Japan is governed by consensus; it takes time for public opinion on any given issue to build up and prevail. Defense policy has only recently been emerging for discussion in the monthly magazines that generate the mood for the intellectuals; the nation will gradually follow.

How long Japan holds to its pledge never to build nuclear weapons depends primarily on the course of events in Red China and the outcome of the Vietnam war. The Japanese could make unexpected changes of direction, as they often have in the past. Meanwhile, they are relying on their alliance with the United States to help build a new Asian prosperity sphere.



The Palestine Refugees: Perennial Source of Trouble

J. H. HUIZINGA

CAIRO

THE young man's eyes lit up when I asked directions to the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). "I can show you," he said. "I am a Palestinian myself."

Thus I soon found myself sitting across the table from the hero of all Palestinian refugees, Ahmed Shukeiri, president of the PLO. Shukeiri is a shortish, stoutish, lively man in his middle fifties who learned his perfect English at Cambridge and the American University of Beirut. Starting as a lawyer in a Palestinian town that is now part of Israel, he subsequently put his talents at the disposal of successive Arab states at the United Nations. It is to them that he owes the possession of no less than four passports. Only in 1964, however, did he really come into his own, so much so that today he is apt to speak of himself in the third person ("Ahmed Shukeiri thinks . . . ," etc.) and to boast that he associates on equal terms with "Presidents and Kings."

Puppet Without Strings

Since 1964 Shukeiri has taken his place as a chief of state at meetings of the Arab League as representative of the "Palestinian Entity." After twenty years of empty talk about the liberation of Palestine, the League decided in that year to start doing something about it and formed the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestine Liberation Army. Shukeiri, who had been asked to make the necessary preparations, was elected president of the PLO by the Palestinian refugee communities. The "Presidents and Kings" to whose level he had thus been hoisted agreed to contribute a million Egyptian pounds ($1.35 million) a year to the PLO as well as an undisclosed sum for the Liberation Army, whose members are recruited among Palestinian refugees and total, according to Shukeiri, "some thousands."

The threat of these thousands, mostly stationed on Egyptian territory and equipped with Communist Chinese arms, does not particularly worry Israel. Some of the Arab leaders, on the contrary, are finding Shukeiri a liability—above all, King Hussein of Jordan, who helped to set up Shukeiri and now hears him using his Cairo radio to call for Hussein's assassination. The Egyptians, as I discovered in a talk with Khaled Moheddine, a leading figure in President Nasser's Arab Socialist Union, fear that Shukeiri's bellicosity may become awkward if not dangerous for them, and they are at a loss on how to control him. Legally Shukeiri is autonomous, free to provoke Israel as much as he pleases. Nor can Nasser restrain him by threatening to withhold money and facilities without giving Cairo's

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enemies in the Arab world a chance to denounce the United Arab Republic as lacking in zeal for the holy war for Palestine, or of being guilty of aiding Israel.

It is true that for the time being Shukeiri shows more bark than bite. While he occasionally claims credit for raids against Israel, most observers agree that the few that have taken place are the work of Palestinians acting independently of the PLO, sometimes with the complicity of the militant leftist Syrian government, sometimes entirely on their own. His extravagant propaganda statements are also difficult to take seriously. For example: "We Arabs may not yet be able to take on Israel in a classical war but we can certainly destroy it in a guerrilla war; look at what the FLN achieved against the French in Algeria." As if there were any analogy, as if the people of Israel were waiting to be liberated from alien rule, or the Arab guerrillas were not certain to meet fanatical resistance from all but the 200,000 Arabs among Israel's total population of 2.5 million. Yet it is not only Shukeiri who propounds these fantasies. One can hear them proclaimed with as much conviction in Damascus, where all the talk is about the forthcoming "people's war." And even such a sober-minded realist as Sayed Nofal, the Egyptian assistant secretary of the Arab League, tried to convince me that the successes of the FLN, the Vietcong, and the EOKA in Cyprus showed what the Arabs would be able to achieve with similar methods against Israel.

ONE does not have to talk with Shukeiri very long, however, to discover that what he really has in mind is a very different strategy from that pursued by those three organizations. If he puts his hopes in guerrilla war it is not because he has any illusions about the reception his fighters can expect from the Israeli populace, but rather because he sees it as the best way to provoke Israel into waging a large-scale counterattack and thus incurring the odium of the aggressor. "We would then have the advantage," Shukeiri told me, "of being on the defensive." World opinion would do the rest.

A more sophisticated version of the provocation strategy is propounded by those who are realistic enough to realize that world opinion is not likely, as Shukeiri professes to believe, "to reduce Israel to zero" in punishment for what would hardly be unprovoked aggression. They rely on Israel to do their job for them. Their aim is to provoke Israel to attack Jordan and annex the territory on the West Bank of the Jordan River, thus acquiring more rebellious Palestinian Arabs than it can hope to hold down. It would seem at least as likely, however, that the whole enterprise would procure its initiators no greater gain than the temporary transformation of the West Bank into a battlefield and an eventual return to the status quo.

Whatever the merits of the provocation strategy, Shukeiri seems only too willing to accept its considerable

risks. He may still be unwilling to make a direct challenge to Israel, but he is certainly going all out with indirect provocation by openly working for the overthrow of King Hussein. Much to the King's chagrin, Israel treats him as a sort of protégé, and with good reason. For he has ample reason to strive for peaceful coexistence with Israel. He is bound to lose if the long-promised war to liberate Palestine ever comes. If the attempt were successful and led to the territorial restoration of the "Palestinian Entity," it would deprive him of two-thirds of his two million subjects, Palestinians all, and would reduce his kingdom to the chunk of desert east of the Jordan. If unsuccessful, the result would be almost as bad, with Israel occupying the West Bank. His lack of enthusiasm for the "holy war" is therefore understandable, as is the support given to him by Israel, which has warned more than once that it would not stand idly by if its *ami malgré lui* were removed from the throne. This also explains Shukeiri's declaration that "Amman must be liberated before Palestine can be liberated," his decision to transform the executive committee of the PLO into a "Revolutionary Council" working underground for the overthrow of Hussein, and his virulent radio campaign calling for the King's assassination.

King in a Shadow

No one who meets King Hussein can help feeling both sympathy and respect for him. It is not only that his diminutive size must be a psychological handicap for the commander in chief of a long-limbed, proud, and martial people. His deep voice, his easy and yet dignified manner, and, above all, his calm reasonableness—so rare in this Arab world of demagogues—soon make one realize that behind the boyish exterior there is a mature man of high caliber, a descendant of the Prophet and of the family that led the Arab revolt against Turkish rule. Fate has placed him on the throne of a country whose integrity he can only hope to maintain with financial support from the West—the United States subsidizes twenty per cent of Jordan's budget. Worse still, his kingdom is subject to Israel's veto on any change in constitutional or territorial status.

Hussein has spent much of his life in the shadow of violent death. In his autobiography he relates how the assassin of his grandfather, King Abdullah, also fired at him and only failed to kill him because the bullet ricocheted off a medal on his chest. Once he discovered that his nose drops had been replaced with acid. Then there was the time when the palace cats died off, poisoned by a cook who was experimenting with them before using his skills on the King. There was the pursuit of his plane by two Syrian MIGs, and finally the bomb that killed his Prime Minister and eleven others, followed forty minutes later by an-

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other explosion, presumably intended for Hussein himself.

Ever since his accession in 1953 at seventeen, Hussein has been made to feel that to the Arab nationalists he is no better than a traitor. He has also tasted the bitterness of betrayal by the men in whom he had placed his trust. No less than three successive commanders in chief of his army have had to flee the country or have been imprisoned when they were discovered to be plotting his overthrow. No doubt this experience led him to write the poignant words about his early discovery of "the frailty of political devotion."

HUSSEIN lives simply and spends most of his leisure time in a modest villa outside Amman, where he is said to keep only a couple of servants. He commands the loyalty of his troops and the Bedouin tribes. The picture of the arch-reactionary that Radio Cairo regularly paints of him is far out of line. While some of the Bedouin chiefs may own considerable tracts of largely worthless desert, a ceiling of fifty acres—half the maximum allowed in Egypt—has been put on holdings in the irrigated part of Jordan. Under his rule, the people of Jordan have enjoyed at least as much political freedom as their brethren in Iraq, Syria, or Egypt. They have had three elections since 1956, the most recent on April 15, when a sixty-member parliament backing the King was elected. Shukeiri's call for a boycott of the elections was not widely followed.

Nevertheless, a large number of Hussein's subjects are Palestinian refugees who remain disaffected and provide fertile ground for Shukeiri's Liberation Organization. Intent only on the recovery of their homeland, they see in Hussein an obstacle to the realization of their hopes, remembering that his grandfather Abdullah, then the Emir of Transjordan, profited from the Arab debacle in the war against the Israeli usurper to add the unconquered part of Palestine to his domains. And after twenty years in which the Arab leaders have vied in calling for the destruction of Israel, the Palestinians are becoming impatient for action instead of mere words. Time has brought not resignation but exasperation, and has not stilled their longing or appeased their sense of injustice.

In recent months, moreover, something has happened to render them even more susceptible to the appeal of Hussein's enemies. When Israel selected a target in Jordan, the village of Samu, for a reprisal raid last November 13, the King's forces failed to offer the villagers adequate protection. His Palestinian subjects

on the West Bank reasoned that if the King would not or could not protect them, if they were at Israel's mercy anyhow, they had little to lose by supporting those who are prepared to overthrow him. They are readier to risk Israel's making good its threat to occupy the last remaining Arab part of their homeland.

Friends and Enemies

What can have induced Israel to make Hussein's position more difficult than it was already? Part of the answer is that Israeli public opinion demanded a show of retaliatory force and that action against Syria was considered too risky both geographically (the border is dominated by Syrian-held mountains) and politically (Damascus is very close to Moscow these days, besides having a mutual defense agreement with Cairo). According to some, this reasoning was further reinforced by the calculation that an attack on Jordan might, paradoxically, help to strengthen rather than undermine Hussein's position by depriving his enemies of their charge that he is a friend of Israel.

It has not worked out that way. Hussein's throne today rests on a narrower base than ever, and Shukeiri's prospects have considerably improved. Although the latter denies that he really wants the conquest of power in Jordan rather than the liberation of Palestine, he already speaks of one day "marching at the head of [Palestinian] troops into Jordan and praying at the Al Aqsa Mosque in our Jerusalem to offer thanks for victory." Whether Hussein succeeds in frustrating the fulfillment of these dreams depends on his success in retaining the loyalty of the armed forces by purging them of conspirators in time, as he has so often had to do in the past. Brave and agile as always, Hussein shows no outward signs of anxiety or weariness. But that he feels dangerously friendless and isolated could be deduced from the manner in which he has again taken to harping, very unfashionably nowadays, on the danger of a Communist take-over throughout the Middle East. Such talk is doubtless intended first of all for American ears. But is it conceivable that Washington, after its experiences with shoring up tottering régimes in other parts of the world, would be prepared to send in paratroops to keep Hussein on his throne as the British did in 1958? And even if it were, could Hussein afford to enrage his many enemies inside and outside Jordan by asking the West to come to his rescue?

Strangely enough, Hussein's best hope for the survival of his country may well lie in Cairo. However exaggerated Shukeiri's claims may be, Nasser and his Arab mentors are uneasily aware that they may not be able to prevent his very real provocations from leading them into a war they are ill prepared to face. Twenty years of promises and threats, twenty years of competitive shouting to Palestinian refugees "You shall return" and "Israel shall be destroyed," have built up a formidable head of steam that already threatens to get out of control.

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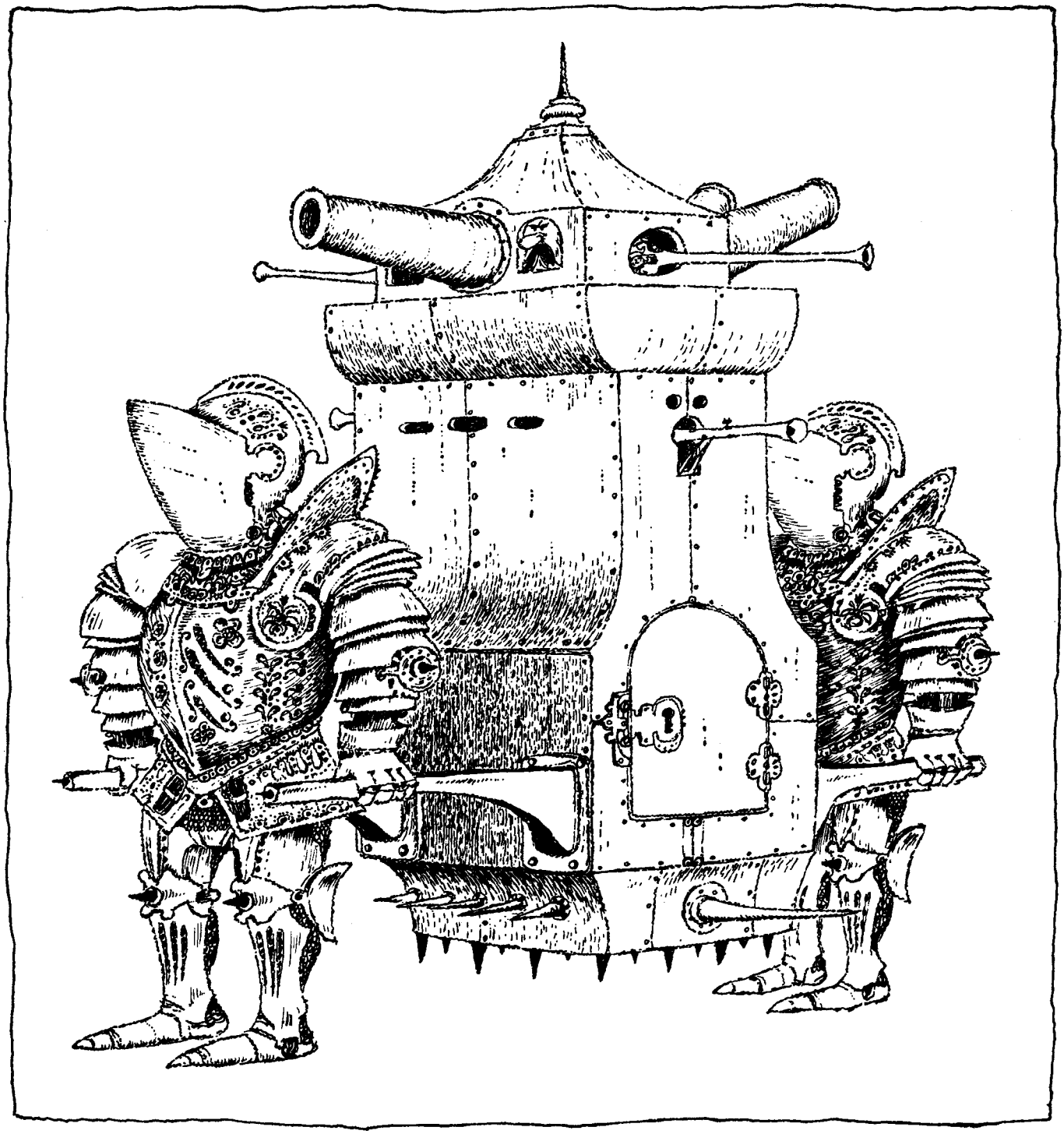

By Fernando Krahn

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Was It Really Like This in Dallas?

REBECCA WEST

IT HAS BEEN SAID that what Manchester thinks today the world will think tomorrow. But this does not apply to William Manchester, author of *The Death of a President*, of whom the world will think but little, tomorrow or any other day, except to wish that he had not put forward this version of an American crisis.

For were it acceptable it would be cause for despair, since the United States is one of the two great determinant forces on earth in this age.

An awful story wanders through this great doorstop of a book. According to Mr. Manchester this is what happened in Dallas after the assassination. President Kennedy, in his last agony, Governor Connally, who was badly wounded, and their uninjured and gallant wives, and Mr. and Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, a Texan Senator (insulted throughout but Mr. Manchester does not really explain why), and a *mêlée* of personal assistants, some of them high-ranking, and secret service men from Washington and numbers of local police, were driven at high speed to Parkland Hospital four miles out of the city.

The medical staff there gave the President various forms of treatment which their experience warned them would be useless, but which were obligatory because the strong body obstinately showed signs of life which could not be disregarded; and Governor Connally was appropriately tended.

Meanwhile a technical genius named Bales, who should be remembered tenderly, the chief of the Signal Corps who always traveled with the President to establish his communications, ran around the hospital adjusting each telephone so that it went through to the Signals Board in Washington, and other technicians whom he had summoned set up a new trunk system.

Here competence disappears from the story. It is odd that, though there was a general fear that the attack on the President was part of a rising, nobody seems to have contacted any branch of the armed forces stationed in Texas; nor did anybody ascertain, as should have been easy enough once telephone communications had been installed, that there was no rising and spread the news among the party.

By this time hospital routine had been shattered, not by its own fault but by the irruption of White House personnel and police and secret service agents, all in a state of unrestrained excitement which led a nurse to believe that the place had been taken over by an underworld gang.

THE STORY wends its way through masses of superfluous details about everything which was happening practically anywhere at the same moment.

When the President was dead, an undertaker was telephoned to bring a coffin, and preparations were made to take the President's body back to the airfield and fly it to Washington. This was unnecessary. It was necessary that the new President should be flown to Washington as soon as possible, but that consideration played a very small part in the minds of the White House personnel.

It is suggested throughout that this confusion of priorities arose because of Mrs. Kennedy's own intense desire to return to Washington with her husband's body. This is doubtful. That unhappy woman was in a state of deep shock, a beautiful grieving automaton, and she would probably have accepted any tactful suggestion which left her, as she plainly desired to be, alone with her dead.

Rather was this foolish flight the wish of the people round her. Of one agent Mr. Manchester writes:

"He did, however, want to leave Parkland. From the moment they reached the ambulance dock he had been plotting a getaway. Not only the hospital, but the entire city had become an abomination to him. . . . Dallas was a place of violence and death. Staying in it was an insane risk. Love Field [the airport] was the obvious escape hatch; they should head there immediately."

When they were about to remove

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the coffin, a doctor appeared, identified himself as the Dallas County Examiner, Dr. Earl Rose, and explained that by the law of Texas no corpse could be removed from the state until an autopsy had been performed, were there any suspicion of homicide. He was entirely in the right, and all the other doctors except one assured the President's staff that this was the law.

There then followed a disgusting brawl, which Mr. Manchester describes with approving relish. He is not at all displeased to record that a local police sergeant got into a crouching position and appeared about to assault Dr. Rose, on whose personal appearance Mr. Manchester finds time to pass derisive comments. He is reported as being wall-eyed and turning the color of porridge under the stress of emotion. The reader will look much the same by this time.

FINALLY, a local magistrate was sent for, and after surviving a discourteous reception he confirmed the Examiner's judgment, and in the course of his explanation had to remark that this was just another homicide case so far as he was concerned.

To that, offense was taken by Kenneth O'Donnell, one of the President's political advisers. He swore at the judge and then told his men to force the coffin out of the room through a scrimmage of local police. If this repulsive scene occurred, it would have been preferable that none of us should have heard about it.

What the unfortunate judge was trying to explain was that though conspiracy to murder a President is a Federal offense, the murder of a President by a single person is not. It ranks just like any other homicide, and has to be dealt with by the homicide laws of the state in which the murder was committed; and the law of Texas on the point of removal was as the unhappy Dr. Rose had stated.

But this is not the end of the discreditable story. Mr. O'Donnell took Kennedy's coffin to the airfield in the undertaker's hearse and, as the sortie was illegal, did not take the undertaker's assistants with him. O'Donnell's party did not know that a coffin is fixed to the floor of a hearse, and could not find the catch, so wrenched the coffin out by sheer force.

Though it was heavy bronze, it suffered serious damage, and a handle was snapped off. This made it difficult to carry the coffin; and it had to be shoved and bounced and tilted up the ramp and through the narrow entrance of the plane.

A body which is to be the subject of an autopsy should be disturbed as little as possible. Considerable sympathy must be felt for the surgeons at the Naval Hospital of Bethesda at Washington who were later set the task of tracing the path of the assassin's bullet through the President's poor body, which had been torn by wounds, disorganized by drastic treatment, and finally exposed to this buffeting.

Had the surgeons been flown down to Dallas and done their work down there, we might have had none of the painful controversy about the manner of the President's death, which violates the dignity of the dead in its eagerness to ruin the living.

IT MAY BE ASKED what was happening in the meantime to the man who had suddenly become President of the United States. If we are to believe Mr. Manchester, he was being treated like the stray dog that runs onto the ground during a league football match.

Mr. and Mrs. Lyndon Johnson had taken no part in the deplorable proceedings at Parkland. They had sat quietly in a room with their secret service guard, doing what sensible people do in a hospital: waiting until the doctors and nurses finish their work and it can be decided what should be done.

Already the Kennedy staff had shown a peculiar attitude toward him. The agent who saw Dallas as a city of death and violence fully realized his responsibilities to the man who was either going to be President in a matter of moments or already was President, and two agents had been sent to ask General McHugh, the Air Force aide to the President, to come and speak to Mr. Johnson about arranging his immediate flight to Washington.

General McHugh refused, on the peculiar ground that the Vice President had his own plane. In the end Mr. and Mrs. Johnson and their agents had to go to the airport and board the plane by themselves.

ONCE Mr. Johnson was aboard he put in a number of calls relating to a matter of at least ritual importance. For the last 120 years it has been the custom that when the death of the President precipitates a Vice President into the supreme office, he takes the oath of loyalty to the Constitution that his predecessor took at his inauguration, simply because "doubts may arise and for greater caution."

First of all, Mr. Johnson consulted the dead President's brother, the Attorney General, and then the matter was discussed over the wires by a number of authorities, both in Washington and in Dallas. Finally, he sent for a local woman judge to administer the oath to him on the plane.

This step gave him no advantage. He was President. The only consideration which could have moved him was the feeling that if there were a general rising, "a world plot," as he put it to Robert Kennedy, there had better be no doubts about his succession. But Mr. Manchester, for reasons known only to his Maker, considers this decision to take the oath in Dallas a revelation of Johnson's oblique character.

The Johnsons, then and at all times, seem to have been behaving far better than anybody else: like reasonable beings. Meantime, the party who had engaged in the brawl with the County Examiner at Parkland escorted Mrs. Kennedy aboard and laid down the coffin in the tail compartment.

Because the President was changing his shirt in a cabin, they did not know he was on the plane, and none of the agents accompanying the Johnsons gave them that information.

The brawling party were possessed by a fear that the Dallas authorities would pursue them and seize the coffin, and therefore they were anxious for the plane to start. That they should have put Mrs. Kennedy, in her state of distress, in such a position is incredible.

But one's credulity is strained a

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little further. When General McHugh was finally told that the President was on board the plane and they could not start until he had been sworn, his reaction was strong and strange, particularly as he was no child but a man over fifty years of age:

"McHugh flushed. Pointing toward the tail compartment he cried, 'I have only one President, and he's lying back in that cabin.'

"It was a dramatic remark, and the plane was small enough so that his words were quoted to virtually every passenger before they landed at the capital. Ken O'Donnell heard them and was proud of the General. 'This morning you were this tall,' he said, holding his hand a few inches from the floor. Then he raised it as high as he could reach and said, 'Now you're up here.' "

IF THESE ill-bred nonsenses occurred, Mr. Manchester had no right to record them as if ordinary Americans would find them acceptable. It would be too much to hope that the two-and-a-quarter-hour journey from Dallas to Washington would bring an end to these extraordinary manifestations, and indeed even the funeral was not to be safe from desecration.

When the Mass at St. Matthew's Cathedral was over, Cardinal Cushing and the other prelates entered the first car, and Mrs. Kennedy and her brothers-in-law entered the second. But the cars could not start. There was an inexplicable traffic block in front of them.

The afflicted family had to sit helpless, with the worst of the day still before them, the actual interment in Arlington Cemetery, for a quarter of an hour. In fact, the prearranged order for the procession had been jettisoned. This was the work of another of the inexhaustible supply of Washington gnomes, Jack McNally, the Special Assistant in charge of staff at the White House.

"The White House staff had bolted. . . . the unruly Jack McNally was to blame. . . . To McNally the precedence was plainly unfair. The staff members had loved the President more than any foreigner, he reasoned. Putting them at the end was wrong; they might miss the graveside service. Therefore he had slipped away during Communion and reconnoitred Rhode Island Avenue's three lanes. . . . The third lane was vacant. Chief Stover of the White House police told him it was reserved for an emergency. . . . He found the nineteen White House limousines parked a block away and ordered them into the emergency lane. Then he posted a White House sergeant in front of lane two and told him to block the foreign presidents and royalty until the staff had been threaded into the cavalcade. . . . All semblance of order collapsed."

It did indeed. The order of the cortège was broken, and at this solemn moment the greatest men in America and the foreign chiefs of state had to run about hitchhiking lifts from the few lucky people who had found their cars.

"Charles de Gaulle declined to use his thumb. He looked down upon the mêlée and arched his brow at the American chief of protocol."

For once President de Gaulle's capacity for arching his brow was used for a purpose of which we can all approve.

THIS IS a regrettable book. It is a mystery how the friends of the Kennedy family who read the book on their behalf could not have seen that it is damaging to the reputation of the United States. It tells one shocking story after another, either as if they were funny or could be taken for granted. Particularly is it displeasing that gratuitous discourtesies to the President of the United States should be recorded without apology or justification.

This is a tale that should not have been told save in sackcloth and ashes. Yet certainly Mr. Manchester wrote this book in all innocence.

Dark Deeds And Evil Books

WERNER L. GUNDERSHEIMER

ON INIQUITY, by Pamela Hansford Johnson. *Scribner's. $3.95.*

The Moors murder trial, which attracted international attention last spring, resulted in the convictions of Ian Brady, twenty-seven, a clerk, and Esther Myra Hindley, twenty-three, a shorthand typist. The three known victims, aged ten to seventeen, were brutally manhandled, sadistically attacked, and sexually assaulted. Two had been buried on a bleak moor in the county of Chester, England, the third was still in the killers' house, and two missing children from that region are still undiscovered. The guilty couple possessed a small collection of sadistic, pornographic, and Nazi writings, photographed some of their triumphant moments, and recorded on tape the tortured agonies of Lesley Ann Downey, ten. It is a story of horrible, in parts unspeakable depravity. Miss Hansford Johnson attended portions of the trial, on an assignment for the *Sunday Telegraph*. This dreadful experience prompted some searching reflections on the general nature of our "increasingly permissive society," in the hope of discerning "some compost-heap of rottenness out of which such ugly weeds could flourish and grow lush."

The result is a conservative, indeed almost atavistic, and sometimes rather crotchety indictment of some features of modern urban societies. Her critique is presented in strongly persuasive and often emotive language, and in parts it is argued rather well. The author's commitment and good will, and her belief that she is saying things that need desperately to be said, are beyond question. Her judgment is not.

THE BOOK revolves around two major problems, which Miss Hansford Johnson regards as closely related. The more general of the two is that of the West's drift toward an "affectless society," a world of ruthless disregard for others, of *sauve*

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qui peut, of unlimited personal self-indulgence. Suspicion and hatred will be one man's initial reaction to another, lust and crime will become normative, pointless violence will rule. "We are in danger of creating" such a society, writes the author with cautionary restraint, for much of the book suggests that she thinks it is already here.

So what do we do? We turn to the more specific of the two problems—pornography and related trash. An enormous amount of the space in this short book is devoted to the undeniable issues raised by the increasing and unprecedented availability of publications appealing to prurient interest, in England and elsewhere. The author carefully uses the powers of suggestion to imply much more than she actually states. She calls for a full discussion of the subject, upbraiding intellectuals for their alleged silence. It appears that she favors some kind of censorship that does not now exist, despite the seventy-five tons of obscene material which by her own admission is only a small part of the amount impounded by Scotland Yard. The implication is that the laws need to be strengthened, the confiscatory agencies more fully and broadly empowered. Recent statements by psychiatrists questioning the "cathartic" value theory of pornography and such are introduced, but with the strong implication not only that such literature has no therapeutic or deterrent value as regards the possible acting out of fantasies and wishes but also that it actually can (and not infrequently does) *cause* the acting out. That is certainly her conclusion about Brady and Hindley, and she clearly wants to apply it much more broadly: "In their case, it begins to seem increasingly likely that they were affected by what they read. And I suggest that the flood of sadistic pornography which is making the western world look so hideous (and, incidentally, so absurd) was conducive to such 'madness' [which for the author is really wickedness, or the iniquity of the title] as may have been in them, and is conducive to a madness of our whole society."

That is treading on very thin ice. The sad fact is that we simply do not know what the dominant social role of sadistic pornographic literature is, or what relation it bears to criminal behavior. Appalling crimes are committed (and always have been) by people uncorrupted by obscene books. And even where such an interest is evident, it is hard to establish a causal relationship. How often can we say more than that the kind of person who commits sadistic acts will also be the kind of person whose literary tastes run to sadism? Brady himself, judging by his pre-pornographic childhood, fails to provide convincing evidence for the author's view.

Miss Hansford Johnson is preoccupied by the unpopularity of her stand in intellectual circles. She dismisses as irresponsible or naïve those who may also have learned from bitter experience to proceed carefully in the area of censorship, or who prefer to base their positions on reliable information. At times she seems to assume a monopoly on virtue, and to impugn the motives even of anticipated critics. "What price would we pay to prevent the torturing of one helpless child? The price of restricting art? I don't answer this question. I simply ask it." Such protestations of modesty to the contrary notwithstanding, the author gives her answer in the highly charged phrasing of the question. Such devices sometimes almost smack of obscurantism. Yet who can deny that the point is worth raising?

The uncomfortable feeling with which one is left is that Miss Hansford Johnson has no more developed an idea of what to do about the perfectly obvious problems she raises than have the "silent" observers who are her target. And the knottiest matters are barely broached: What kinds of literary controls would be consonant with the liberties of man as we profess them? How important is pornographic literature? If we emphasize its role, do we pay a high price by neglecting perhaps much more fundamental elements in the psychopathology of criminal behavior? Is our society increasingly affectless, or could it be that our mass communications (and our memories) are increasingly selective for the affectless? How can we perfect our ways of finding people who need help, and then getting it to them in time?

I don't answer these questions. I simply ask them. And I wonder and regret that so talented a writer has chosen to shed so much more heat than light on an already inflamed terrain.

Living Was Writing

SUSAN DE LISSOVOY

Emily Bronte: Her Life and Work, by Muriel Spark and Derek Stanford. *Coward-McCann. $5.75.*

Sometimes it is good to be reminded of the simple power of imagination, of the passion that can be induced by internal stimuli. The life and work of Emily Brontë serve as such a reminder.

An internal light manifested itself in all of her writing, in the surreal intensity of *Wuthering Heights*; yet her life itself was humdrum. Except for two brief attempts to go away to school, Emily Brontë lived at home in her father's parsonage until she died of consumption at thirty. Outward experience counted for nothing. Her art was not a means of transforming her experience: it *was* her experience. This is the interpretation of Muriel Spark in her study of Emily Brontë.

Here is a book in which the author has a natural sympathy for her subject. One established English novelist writes about another who lived a century before her. Miss Spark does not exploit this situation in any way, but writes a straightforward and scholarly biography. While Muriel Spark's own novels are very different from *Wuthering Heights*, she is an authority on Emily Brontë, and has edited a volume of her poems and a collection of Brontë letters. She has both the sympathy and the detachment necessary to a good biographer.

One of the difficulties in writing

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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler® No. 169

by HENRY ALLEN

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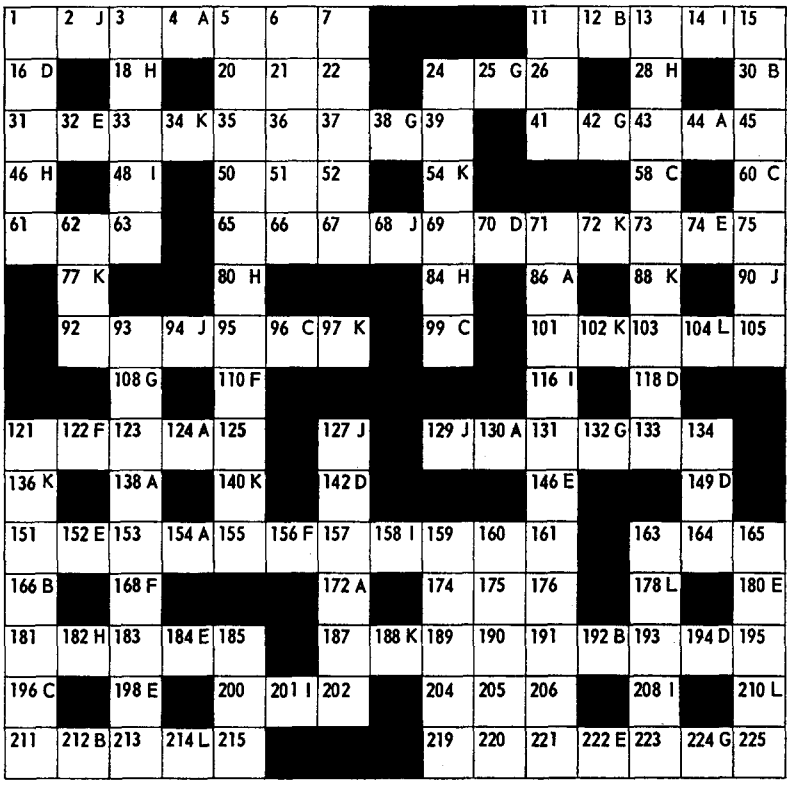

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.

A
130 44 4 172 124 138 86 154 Said of a telephone connection held but not used (4,4).

B
212 12 30 192 166 "Give me the liberty to know, to_____and to argue freely according to conscience." Milton, "Areopagitica."

C
58 99 60 96 196 Small drafts of spirit, liquids, weights.

D
149 142 16 70 194 118 A theatrical gag often repeated.

E
32 180 152 222 198 146 74 184 An agent which makes abnormally sensitive.

F
168 110 156 122 The spar that holds the head of a sail.

G
25 108 224 132 38 42 "Ears like_____wings." Chesterton, "The Donkey."

H
18 28 182 84 80 46 "Only the echoes which he made_____/Ring from their marble caves..." Drummond, "For the Baptist."

I
201 14 116 158 48 208 "And take the present_____from the time / Which now suits with it." Shakespeare, "Macbeth."

J
94 2 127 90 129 68 "_____, thou shrine of my dead Saint, Instead of dirges this complaint." Bishop Henry King, "The Exequy."

K
54 34 136 188 77 97 88 102 72 140 Intermission arrived (6,4).

L
214 178 104 210 An Arabian vessel, lateen rigged and having a high poop.

ACROSS

1. Aids can change part of Norway and Sweden.
11. A characteristic of those.
20. A small particle in radio nomenclature.
24. Those who indulge in human endeavor.
31. Anything this is nothing (5,4).
41. Art is changed to a step in a progression.
50. Fastening some cheap insurance.
61. Belonging to us in your inventory.
65. One area in which the Acrostician was interested but not involved (4,7).
92. Seizures of maps on board ship.
101. Love and hate together at a western resort.
121. Apparently a linear measure of what the game was to Sherlock Holmes.
129. Gratifies requests when curtailed.
151. They shift their money from bank to bank or themselves from car to car (var. sp.).
163. Spread for drying in late daylight.
174. Greek letter used by most authorities.
181. Lifted up by Mr. Teale.
187. Is such a zephyr wet? (3,6).
200. Pronoun for part of the body, I hear.
204. Mix type for the Indian coin.
211. The kind of leather that sounds moved.
219. Those moving counter to the current naturally show their red side.

DOWN

1. A fracas that leads to nothing after the test (3-2).
3. Protection for those whose move forms the basis of a design to make or mar.
5. Deals out remission or releases from obligations.
6. Region of Asia Minor where 20 across is in a first-class condition.
7. Unknown authors favorites of Francis?
11. Printers' measures of Japanese money when shaken.
13. He's a he-cad, but classifies trials and tribulations thus.
15. The wanderer from the beaten path in any set year.
24. Did Meg err in making this union?
62. Designating ship of the fleet, Russia or not?
71. Taken to heart once more where wealth is in the red.
93. To hold up a fence door is to disseminate.
121. A female performer, mostly hair at last.
127. Yes, in another way he is under a hundred but shoddy (slang).
134. The female of this species is is just a wee creature.
159. Halting place for troops on the march or a public storehouse.
160. The braid became furious and fanatical!
163. Re the designated place...
165. ...we small doctors joined members of a theatrical family.
185. Spend the summer in Paris or in the Teheran area?

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about Emily Brontë is that there is such a large body of legend around her. Miss Spark does not attempt to contradict this legend: "Such legend is the repository of a vital aspect of truth; and ought not to be swept aside simply because it is not ascertainable; neither, of course, should it be taken as literal truth." First, Miss Spark pieces together what she can of literary truth, from contemporary letters and journals. These reveal an Emily who is timid, domestic, and uninteresting. But after 1846, upon the completion of *Wuthering Heights* and two years before her death, the legend begins to grow. Emily's acquaintances, and particularly her sister Charlotte, speak of her as dark, mysterious, mystical, and even tortured. This was partly an attempt to reconstruct her personality in the new light of Emily's authorship of *Wuthering Heights.* But Miss Spark suggests there was probably a real change in Emily's character. After acknowledging the authorship of "Ellis Bell's" novel, she began to see herself differently.

It is suggested that she may have become "unbalanced," that she internalized her cosmic mysticism until she became her own Absolute. Her death would seem to bear this out, for she refused to see a doctor. She seemed to feel that she could combat her illness by not acknowledging it, and her family grew increasingly frantic at what seemed to them to be a stubborn stoicism.

EMILY BRONTE has puzzled people because of the apparent discrepancy between her life and her work. This is where I think Miss Spark's sympathy as a fellow novelist comes in. She convinces us that it is possible to be passionate about writing, that in fact Emily's whole life took the uneventful form it did because of her overwhelming need to create without distraction. She was not an enthusiastic student, nor a successful one, because of her refusal to train her reason at the expense of her own desires. In "Often rebuked, yet always back returning," she wrote, "I'll walk where my own nature would be leading:/It vexes me to choose another guide."

The biographical section is only ninety-nine pages. Derek Stanford's accompanying analysis is twice as long, though less need be said of it. Mr. Stanford is a serious critic, who takes Emily Brontë seriously both as poet and novelist. This is, by the way, the first time a critical analysis of her complete works has been written by a critic rather than by a novelist or a biographer.

Mr. Stanford discusses in detail the previous critical treatment her work received; he then turns to the work itself. We are convinced that Emily Brontë is a major English poet, by virtue of six poems that Mr. Stanford selects as her greatest. Her minor poems are also discussed, and we see that Emily was "at her best when she was most herself."

Significantly, Mr. Stanford looks at the work as it relates to other literature, repudiating the common notion that she stands isolated and alone, uninfluenced by and without influence on the rest of English literature.

Wuthering Heights is analyzed in depth and we are persuaded that it is a great novel, though not a perfect one. Emily Brontë was ahead of her time, and wrote a novel of passion in the time of novels of sentiment. Looking at *Wuthering Heights* as an allegory, Mr. Stanford finds it to be excellent on the symbolic level but implausible on the realistic level.

I think perhaps Emily Brontë was even more ahead of her time than Mr. Stanford admits. Considering the direction taken by much modern fiction, the critic can no longer ask that a novel be truthful on the level of everyday reality. *Wuthering Heights* works on another level, obeying the logic of dreams; it is a kind of transcribed nightmare. Such a book must be the creation of a woman to whom dreams were more real than reality.

THE TWO PARTS of the present volume complement each other well, for Mr. Stanford has truly left the biography to Miss Spark. His section will be of interest chiefly to the student of Emily Brontë's work. His style and vocabulary—words like "gnomic" abound—are those of the New Critic. Muriel Spark's biography is of wider interest. Here is a clear and responsible recounting of a human life whose passion grew and was expressed through writing and through little else besides.

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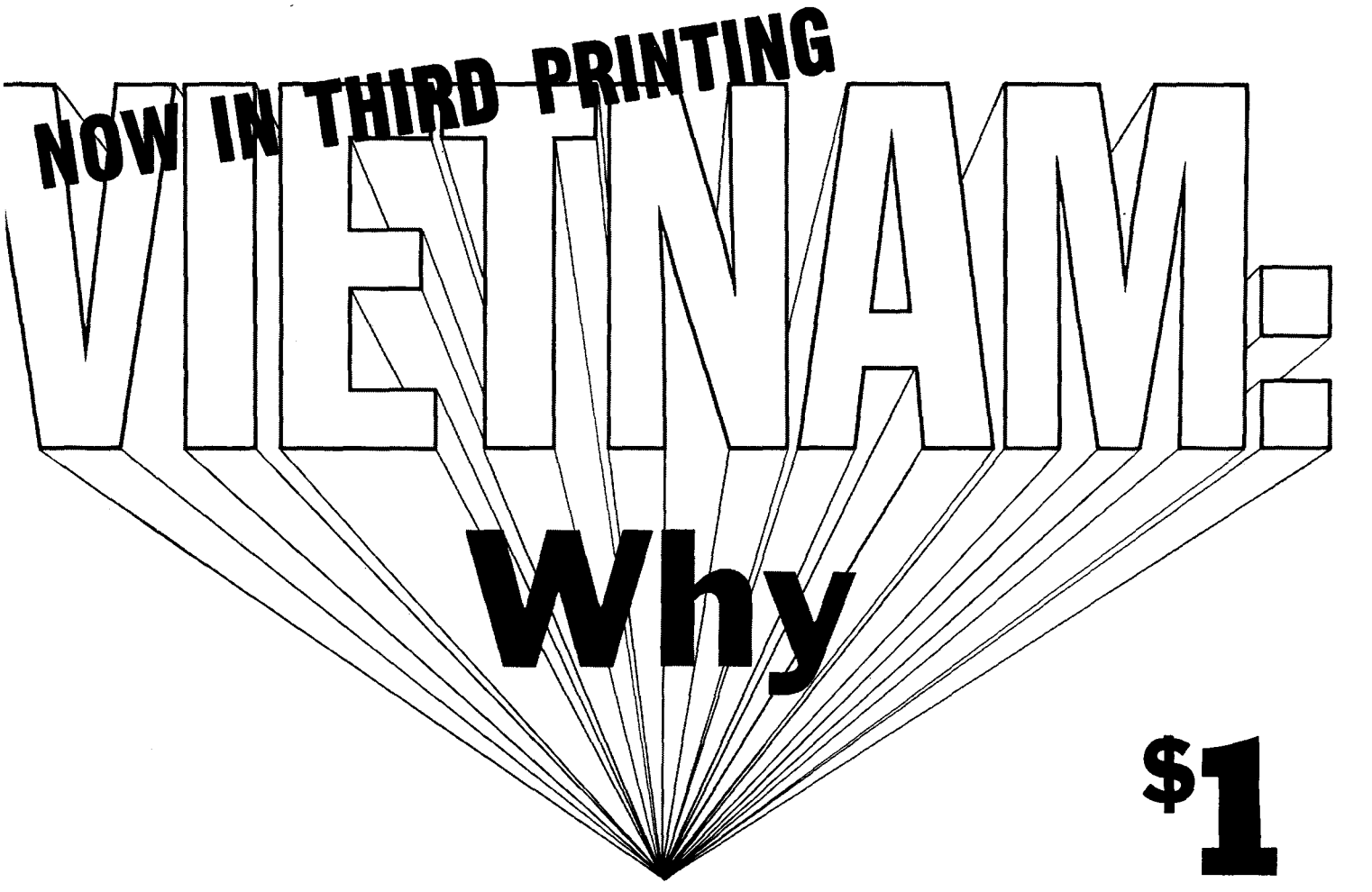

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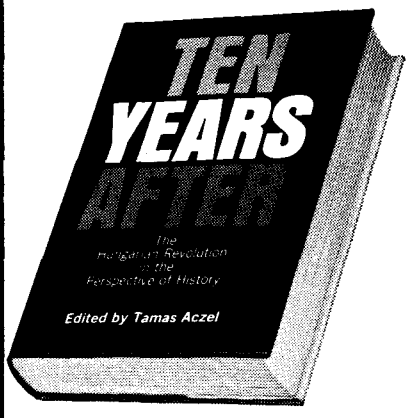

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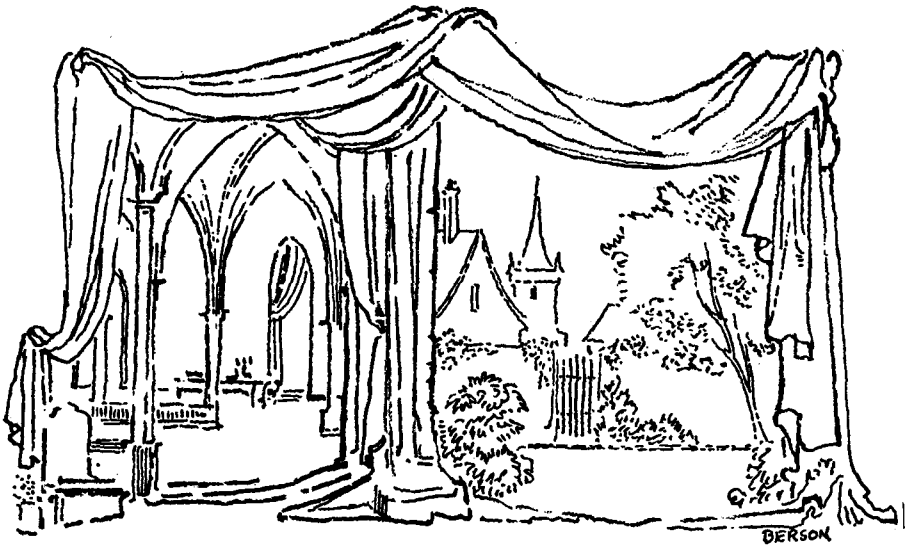

The Importance Of Writing Good Plays

JOHN ROSSELLI

LONDON

THE MOST EXCITING playwright on the English stage today is Oscar Wilde. This is not a piece of hopeful fashion promotion: though fashions in art do, these days, come and go like Courrèges boots, I am not trying to imply that Osborne, Pinter, Wesker, Arden, and all the other new English playwrights of the past ten years have sickened their public on a diet of the non-naturalistic, the vehement, and the absurd and sent it haring back to epigrams and furbelows. Audiences have simply been discovering that Wilde wrote some very good plays. What makes them very good is less their display of 1890's wit and ostrich plumes than their bold use of fundamental but now often neglected theatrical devices like suspense, irony, and slambang surprise.

All four of Wilde's best plays have been revived in London or are about to be. *An Ideal Husband,* with a patchy cast of faded movie stars, surprised everyone by running for sixteen months. *Lady Windermere's Fan,* also unevenly acted, and got up by Cecil Beaton in costumes that might have seemed a bit garish for *The Merry Widow,* has just closed after a run almost half as long. *The Importance of Being Earnest* is coming along with Dame Peggy Ashcroft as Lady Bracknell, and so is *A Woman of No Importance.* (The fifth of Wilde's actable plays, *Salomé,* has been swallowed up alive by Strauss's opera.)

True, this Wilde boomlet comes partly because the theatrical profession has decided that the public has had enough of unpleasant plays set in slum kitchens, and that all it now wants to set it purring contentedly through three acts is a three-walled period drawing room, a sprinkling of baronets or at least of stockbrokers, and a comic footman. So London has been fed revivals of 1920's comedies like Lonsdale's *On Approval* (which was better as a movie with Beatrice Lillie guying the whole thing) and Coward's *Fallen Angels* (almost nonexistent now except as historical evidence of what seemed daring enough just to squeak by, forty years ago), not to mention a 1920's high drama like Maugham's *The Sacred Flame,* now quite mummified and beyond the help even of Gladys Cooper and Wendy Hiller.

In all these, as in the recent Wilde and Shaw revivals, the theatrical profession has shown that, aside from a few actors in their sixties and

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seventies, no one in it any longer knows how to handle long, elaborate sentences or high-society manners. Maybe the English stage never was very good at them: Shaw, reviewing the original (1895) production of *An Ideal Husband,* complained that "everybody has an outrageous air of being at a party; of not being used to it; and, worst of all, of enjoying themselves immensely"—just what could have been said this season about *Lady Windermere's Fan.* But mediocre production and patchy acting have only shown up the vitality of Wilde's plays. The Coward, Lonsdale, Maugham, and even some of the Shaw productions have been exhumations, while the Wilde plays stride right out at the audience.

WHY IS THIS? The conventional thing to say about Wilde the playwright is that *The Importance of Being Earnest* is a perfect piece of fooling, but that the other plays are anthologies of witty lines ("Nothing succeeds like excess," and so on) strung on an extravagantly melodramatic plot. This seems to me to be mistaken. The plays are in fact all of a piece. They work from beginning to end, and they work *through* the melodramatic working out of the plot, not in spite of it.

Shaw, in that 1895 review, made this point, though he missed some of its implications. Wilde, he wrote, "in a certain sense . . . is . . . our only thorough playwright. He plays with everything: with wit, with philosophy, with drama, with actors and audience, with the whole theatre." *An Ideal Husband* was past description because it had "no thesis": it was "in the purest integrity, a play and nothing less." Shaw went on to score rather too easily off the English who couldn't play at anything, whether drama or cricket. He was himself too much involved in the struggle against a false theatricality ("Sardoodledom") to see that he had made out a good case for thinking Wilde's plays better and more durable than many of his own.

Because the late Victorian theatre was artistically and intellectually tawdry, post-Ibsenite playwrights in England often tried to improve it by bringing into it the methods of the dominant—and much more respectable—English literary form, the

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whether drama or cricket. He was himself too much involved in the struggle against a false theatricality ("Sardoodledom") to see that he had made out a good case for thinking Wilde's plays better and more durable than many of his own.

Because the late Victorian theatre was artistically and intellectually tawdry, post-Ibsenite playwrights in England often tried to improve it by bringing into it the methods of the dominant—and much more respectable—English literary form, the novel. One look at the printed text of any play by Shaw, Barrie, or Granville-Barker shows this clearly. In all of them vast stage directions try to do a novelist's work of psychological analysis and moral or social commentary; Shaw tried to get a narrative effect of gradual disclosure by the odd expedient of withholding a cast list; sometimes, as in Granville-Barker, the whole thing threatens to topple over when a two-word line has to support a mountain of novelistic gloss between square brackets.

In performance, too, a Granville-Barker play like *The Voysey Inheritance* muffles its intelligent point by trying for too dense a texture of character, too well documented a social background. Just as things are getting interesting, you have to swallow one more motive or one more cousin. Even Shaw—who started as a novelist but luckily could draw on other, countervailing influences, chiefly opera—sometimes seems diffuse, not, as used to be said, because he is intent on putting over ideas, but because he is too reasonable about character and motive, too explanatory, not theatrically shameless enough.

Wilde is shameless. Every theatrical bag of tricks empties out into his plays. He has letters dropped and found by the wrong people like Sardou; women compromisingly hidden in the next room like Wycherley; telltale brooches that turn into irremovable bracelets like any Jacobean; outraged virtue slapping the villain's face like Dumas Fils; documentary proof of malfeasance like

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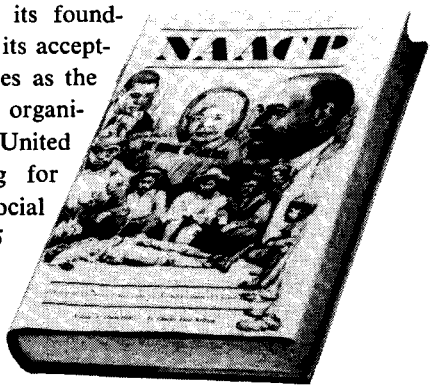

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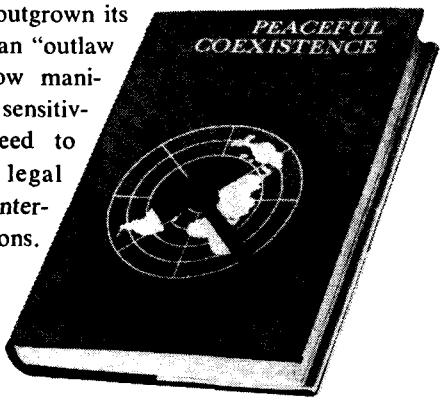

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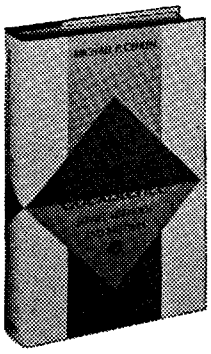

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Ibsen; guilty secrets about people's parentage like Sophocles. He is also ready from time to time to drop the whole thing, line up his characters like Christy Minstrels, and let them exchange witticisms for ten minutes without any pretense of advancing the plot.

But "no thesis"? All three of Wilde's semi-serious plays have a thesis, a post-Ibsenite thesis at that. It is always the same thesis, and it is very like the thesis of *The Wild Duck*: ideals of conduct, whether set up by laws or conventions or by high-flying consciences, are destructive; only an accepting love preserves.

In each play he takes a conventional melodramatic plot through all its stages except the last, and then gives it this twist. When, in the most ramshackle of the three plays, the son of the "woman of no importance" begs her to marry the odious man who wronged her, she refuses with a splendid line worthy of a Verdi opera: "Child of my shame, be still the child of my shame!" Lady Windermere, the prig who has unwittingly had her marriage and her reputation saved by the sacrifice of her long-lost mother, finds that "There is the same world for all of us, and good and evil, sin and innocence, go through it hand in hand." The ideal husband, a cabinet minister whose career has been founded on the sale of a state secret, rounds on the goody-goody wife who cannot love a tainted man: "It is not the perfect, but the imperfect, who have need of love. It is when we are wounded by our own hands, or by the hands of others, that love should come to cure us—else what use is love at all?"

Not the most original of sentiments, especially today—but is it really the theatre's business to be original, subtle, dense, complex, all overtones and half shades? Or is it at its best when it is closest to its own origins—when it enacts a movement of feeling in something like a dance?

A dance may be complex; but it can't blur, can't fail to settle on some continual visible pattern of movement. Even the subtlest and most complex playwrights in their most difficult works—Racine in *Bérénice* or Ibsen in *Little Eyolf*—nearly always show us people *moving:* the movement is psychic rather than physical, but every speech marks a further series of steps, a new relationship between the people on stage. What now seems unsatisfactory about Shaw is that, even in an early, non-garrulous work like *You Never Can Tell,* passages come along when the people fail to move: instead they stand and explain themselves.

WILDE moves, all right—not between the lines, not in stage directions, not in explanatory statements, but on the line and on the action. Does he want to show a mother's sacrifice for the daughter she abandoned in childhood? He sets

up the scene so that both women are hidden in Lord Darlington's rooms in circumstances that mean disaster for either of them if she is found out. Lord Windermere discovers his wife's fan lying about and threatens to search the place. Out comes the mother: "I am afraid I took your wife's fan in mistake for my own, when I was leaving your house tonight. I am so sorry." Curtain! *Coup de théâtre!* Stormy (as they say in Moscow) applause!

Again, when Wilde, in the masterly last scene of this play, wants to show the painful ambiguity of a tie between parent and child that has never been properly acknowledged or kept up, he brings on Lord Windermere, who knows that Mrs. Erlynne is his wife's mother but not that she has sacrificed herself for her daughter; Lady Windermere, who

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knows about the sacrifice but not about the relationship; and Mrs. Erlynne herself, who is tempted to reveal herself but draws back when she finds the reality of the parent-child tie coming up against the reality of the suffering she inflicted on Lady Windermere's father by deserting him twenty years before—a reality that lives on in her daughter's memory.

In almost every line, each of the characters seems on the point of spilling all these perilous beans. As in the Greek drama, the combination of irony and suspense makes the spectator feel tinglingly like a strange sort of god—one who knows everything except what comes next. And what comes next is a final twist of comic wisdom: Mrs. Erlynne hasn't, after all, had to sacrifice everything—she can still retire to the south of France as Lady Augustus Lorton. "Repentance," as she says, "is quite out of date. And besides, if a woman really repents, she has to go to a bad dressmaker, otherwise no one believes in her."

WHY are these plays so satisfying? Like all good comedy, they are serious. The point they make is general but valid—valid enough today in spite of changed conventions. They are not just about the need for an accepting love; they use highly charged and, beneath the melodramatic phrases, deeply felt material drawn from central human experience. Like a number of Verdi operas—with which they share qualities of concentration and panache—they have to do with the need for parents and children to forgive one another: *Lady Windermere's Fan* and *A Woman of No Importance* openly so, *An Ideal Husband* more indirectly.

The method that allows scarcely one dead line or moment in any of the plays is the method of the most deliberately artificial of theatrical forms—say of opera-ballet. In each play the movement of feeling toward an open-eyed acceptance finds embodiment in a kind of dance—a dance of wit, but also a dance of dropped fans, overheard conversations, astonishing entrances, and extraordinary disclosures. They are plays, and nothing less; and so they live.

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Stargazing at Lincoln Center

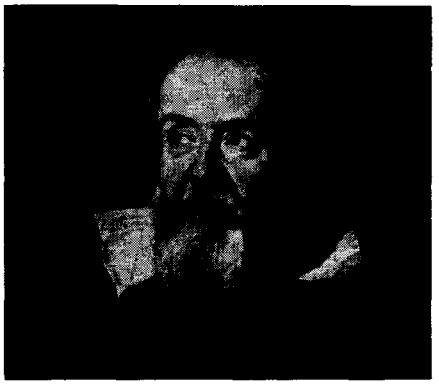
GERALD WEALES

BERTOLT BRECHT'S *Galileo* is the best thing that has happened to Lincoln Center since the Repertory Theatre went into operation there. Part of the praise belongs to Brecht and Charles Laughton, the translator and co-author; part to the company and director John Hirsch, who seems not intimidated by the stage, willing to use it but unwilling to sacrifice the play to it.

Galileo makes a direct satirical attack on willful ignorance, on the way vanity and self-interest can stand on ceremony in the face of an untidy truth that may upset the status quo. A garrulous old cardinal, voicing the theological opposition to Galileo's theories, drops suddenly to the personal: "I won't be a nobody on an inconsequential star briefly twirling hither and thither." The clowning monks who share the stage with the cardinal, the mathematician and the philosopher who refuse to look through the telescope, the curator of the museum who is more interested in business than in knowledge, are all done broadly, almost as caricatures. Their behavior is at once funny and infuriating, and Brecht voices the audience's exasperation by letting Andrea Sarti, the boy who grows up to be Galileo's assistant, say of the scholars who will not even look, "They are wicked." In this production, unless my ears deceived me, the boy said, "They are stupid," which is not really the same thing.

Since, for Brecht, Galileo's scientific discoveries have social consequences, the revolution in the heavens foreshadowing a revolution on earth, it is wickedness, not stupidity, that denies Galileo and finally forces him to recant. "Well, at least you have found out that it is not a question of the satellites of Jupiter, but of the peasants of the Campagna!" Brecht tells the young monk in Scene 7. As the play progresses, the opposition ceases to be comic and becomes villainous, but in both instances the point is direct, simple, even simple-minded. If that were all there were to it, *Galileo* would be an effective but obvious teaching play.

FORTUNATELY there is more. There is the character of Galileo himself. All that is needed for the play I have described above is a scientist hero, capable of putting down his ludicrous opponents in the early scenes, who becomes a martyr to more formidable enemies. This is not Brecht's Galileo. The playwright is interested in the whole man—the connoisseur of good wine as well as the scanner of heavens. From the first scene, which opens as Galileo washes himself, we see his tender concern for his flesh, a concern that will eventually let



him look at the instruments of torture and recant. "Isn't the pleasure of drinking and washing all one with the pleasure which he takes in the new ideas?" Brecht wrote in *Kleines Organon*. "Don't forget: he thinks out of self-indulgence." The time Galileo gives to Andrea, who really wants to learn, and his impatience with the paying student who is only a dabbler are not in the play to show his dedication to truth or his indifference to creature comforts, but to show the appetite he most likes to feed.

In that first scene, too, we see Galileo as trickster, about to pass off the telescope as his own invention, and Galileo as coward, cautioning Andrea not to pass on the Copernican lessons he is learning. By the time the scene ends, Galileo is established as a character. We know why he cannot keep his hands off the heavens and why he will not risk his skin to proclaim the truth he finds there. From all accounts, Laughton's Galileo was a mountain of flesh; from the washing scene at the beginning to the last scene, where he wolfed down the goose, he emphasized the side of Galileo that makes sense of Andrea's accusation after the recantation: "He saved his big gut." Anthony Quayle's Galileo never quite attains that degree of sensuousness, but that limitation aside, his is an excellent performance. Everything else is there—the abruptness, the impatience, the quickness of mind, the deviousness, the self-mockery, the irony.

THE QUESTION, of course, is what are we to make of this Galileo. Brecht is no playwright to present a character study and leave it at that. There has to be a message behind his Galileo, but the fascinating thing about this play is the ambiguity that changes and colors that message. In the first version of the play, written in 1938, Galileo is the embodiment of triumphant reason. His apparent cowardice and self-interest are the cunning that lets him escape death at the hands of the Inquisition and finish his *Discorsi* in secret. This is the kind of ends-justify-the-means reasoning that Brecht used earlier in his more obvious political *Lehrstücke*—as in the arguments of the agitators in *Die Massnahme* (1930).

That Galileo is still evident in the Brecht-Laughton version of the play, but the attitude toward him has shifted. He is still amusingly devious; the letter to the archbishop that he dictates in the last scene is as double-edged as Brecht's own testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Yet when Andrea, who comes to accuse and stays to applaud, attempts to explain away the recantation as common sense, Galileo rejects the interpretation: "I surrendered my knowledge to the powers that be. . . . I have betrayed my profession." The implication is that what was lost by Galileo's silence—in terms

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not only of scientific discovery but of social change—was greater than what was gained by his finishing the book. This, at least, is his own opinion, although Andrea "cannot think that your savage analysis is the last word."

There is an extra scene in the printed play that seems to justify the "savage analysis." Andrea catches a group of boys teasing an old woman, calling her a witch; he makes one of them look in the window and see that it is "Just an old girl cooking porridge," but even then the boy insists that she is a witch. There is the usual Brechtian injunction: "You saw with your own eyes: think it over!" Even so, the point of the scene seems to be that there was a moment when, excited by Galileo's discoveries, people were willing to look at things as they are, but that now—thanks to his recantation—clear-sightedness has been delayed, perhaps even destroyed. The production at Lincoln Center does not use this final scene; the play ends on the interview between Galileo and Andrea and the audience is left with a choice. It can accept that Galileo has failed, or it can take Andrea's option, in which case Galileo becomes a pathetic figure, an old man who has saved his neck and his work and has come to believe that neither is worth saving. That the second is the more likely choice is less Brecht's doing than Quayle's; his Galileo is very moving in the final scene.

ALTHOUGH my discussion of the play may suggest that it has a conventional plot, *Galileo,* like the other Brecht plays, is constructed of individual scenes, each of which is supposed to have a dramatic and ideational purpose of its own, one that is more important than any attempt to feed a continuing story line. For the most part, the scenes in *Galileo* are very effective, each making its single point sharply and clearly. One reason for this is that Brecht uses the most outrageous theatrical tricks to get his effects. In Scene 5, for instance, as we wait in the anteroom for the Vatican astronomer to pass judgment on Galileo's findings, the churchmen denounce and mock Galileo in a confrontation that builds hysterically

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until the doors burst open and the astronomer cuts the scene physically as he strides across, and verbally in three words: "He is right." In Scene 12, we are told that the bell will ring at five o'clock, signaling Galileo's recantation. As five o'clock comes in silence, his assistants, who have been afraid that he would give in, begin to congratulate one another. As they become more and more excited—their joy balanced against the unmoving figure of Galileo's daughter, who is praying that he will recant—the bell begins to toll and their celebration is crushed.

A second reason for the effectiveness of the scenes and of the play as a whole is that Laughton's lines are so eminently playable—which cannot be said of all the Brecht

translations. Of course, the Laughton version is not really a translation; he and Brecht wrote it together. John Willett, in his book on Brecht, quotes the playwright's account of how the two men worked: "We had to decide the gist of each piece of dialogue by my acting it all in bad English or even in German, and his then acting it back in a variety of ways until I could say: that is it." Since not all translators are good actors with access to the original author, who is also a director, their method cannot be widely copied, but in this case it has paid off well.

THERE ARE a number of disturbing things in the production, among them several weak performances. For the most part, however, the production manages to hide the weaknesses. An exception is the scene in which Urban VIII, who as Cardinal Barberini has been a friend and supporter of Galileo, is being robed while talking to the Inquisitor. At the beginning, in his underwear, a man only, he refuses to let the Inquisitor go after Galileo; at the end, in full papal regalia, an office now, not a man, he consents. This is one of the best scenes in the play, but on stage it came across badly, primarily because George Voskovec was never sufficiently Barberini, never had a self that could be buried beneath the robes. It was probably a mistake, too, to cast Edgar Daniels as the cardinal who did not want to be "a nobody." The trick with that character is that he is excessively old and fragile, collapsing physically even while he is maundering on immortality; Daniels is too big, too obviously healthy, to carry the joke.

One of the difficulties with the past productions at the Lincoln Center has been that the stage tempts directors into crowd scenes or excessive business that swamp the play. John Hirsch, happily, has his crowds under control. There is much peripheral busywork, particularly on what looks like a pair of four-story jungle gyms that Robin Wagner has provided as set, but Hirsch never allows the focus to shift from the central business of the scene, as so often happened in Jules Irving's *The Alchemist.* Nor does the April Fools' Day scene, in which the crowd is the center, disintegrate and lose its point, as often happened in Herbert Blau's production of *Danton's Death* and Robert Symonds' *The Country Wife.* In one instance only is there a marked distraction, and that comes in the masked-ball scene. The audience not only needs to hear the conversation between Galileo and the two cardinals, but it should recognize the irony in their masks, one a dove, the other a lamb. But the scene is so loaded with clever masks that those of the cardinals do not stand out.

The costuming, as a matter of fact, is a little odd throughout. When Urban turned at the end of his dressing scene and moved grandly upstage, his glittering train fanned out behind him like an elaborate joke. It was then that I realized that James Hart Stearns must have made his designs after a visit to the Gallery of Modern Art. Not only was the Pope's train straight out of Aubrey Beardsley's illustrations for *Salomé;* so too were the grotesque coiffures that the ladies wore in the ball scene. Beardsley-like costumes for a Brecht play seem a bit far out, but strangely enough they work.

So, too, do the production and the play.

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